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Thesis

The Medieval University: Social Product or Process?

Submitted by

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(B.J., Boston Univ. '30)

In partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Master of Education

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Outline of Thesis

A. Definition of Terms

- (a) "Medieval"
- (b) "University"
- (c) "Social Product"
- (d) "Social Process" Pages one to four.

B. The Times

- (a) Life on the manor
  - 1. Life in the towns
- (b) Education of Chivalry
- (c) Social Life
- (d) Church and Society
- (e) Feudalism and Filth
- (f) Church an Escape
- (g) Little learning
- (h) Coined money appears
- (i) Rise of the towns
- (j) Growth of Freedom
- (k) City goverment
- (l) Rise of Guilds
- (m) Tricks of trade
- (n) The Crusades
- (o) Urban's call Pages four to thirty-six

C. Rise of the Universities

- (a) Their forerunners in education
- (b) Granting of Charters
- (c) Student Guilds
- (d) Movement of scholars

Outline Continued

(e) Religion and teaching

(f) Right of Cessatio

(g) The "Faculties"

(h) Scareness of books Pages thirty six to forty-nine.

D. Professors and Patrons

1. Early forces

(a) Charlemange's program

(b) Alcuin's schools

(c) Alfred's attempts Pages forty-nine to sixty-three.

2. Arabian culture

(a) Rise of Salerno
1. Overthrow of medical traditions

(b) Slow progress

(c) Arnold's work

(d) Peter's discoveries

(e) Frederick, patron of learning Pages sixty-three to seventy four.

3. The Far East

(a) Alfonso of Castile

(b) Geber of Seville

(c) A typical doctor

(d) Peter, Pope and Scientist Pages seventy-four to seventy-nine.

4. Education in Italy

(a) Monte Cassino

(b) Anselm the Peripatetic

(c) Peter Damiani

(d) Gerbert

(e) Fulbert

(f) Pupils of the above Pages seventy-nine to ninety-two.

Outline Continued

5. German education
    - (a) Bruno
    - (b) Hrotsvitha
    - (c) Others Pages ninety-two to ninety-seven
6. English teachers
    - (a) Dunstan
    - (b) Others Pages ninety-seven to hundred two.
7. Clunic Reform
    - (a) Other reforms
    - (b) St. Francis
    - (c) Abelard
        1. his life
        2. his work
        3. his foes Pages hundred two to hundred eighteen.
8. Nominalists and Realists
    - (a) John of Salisbury
    - (b) Alanus de Insulis Pages hundred eighteen to hundred and twenty.
9. Law Professors
    - (a) Inerius
    - (b) Placentinus
    - (c) Gratianus Pages hundred and twenty to hundred twenty-three.
10. Rise of the Orders
    - (a) Bonaventura
    - (b) Albertus Magnus
    - (c) Aquinas
    - (d) Bacon
    - (e) Duns Scotus Pages hundred twenty-three to hundred thirty-two

E. Courses of Study

1. The Seven Liberal Arts

Outline Continued

(a) Law Courses

(b) Medicine

(c) Theology

(d) The Arts degree Pages hundred thirty-two to one fifty-nine.

F. Student Life in the Middle Ages

1. The Vagi

(a) laity vs. students

(b) Colias

(c) Student songs

(d) Small Latin, Less Greek

(e) Student Rights Pages hundred fifty-nine to hundred seventy-one.

2. Student life in Paris

(a) A colorful age

(b) The four Nations

(c) University organization

(d) Medieval Paris
    1. amusements
    2. a rough life

(e) Wine and beer

(f) Practical jokes

(g) Student oaths Pages hundred seventy-one to hundred ninety-five.

3. German Student life

(a) Social Unions

(b) Hazing

(c) Living conditions

(d) The dogs

(e) The duels

(f) Drinking bouts Pages hundred ninety-five to two hundred and four.

Outline Continued

G. Trends of Graduate Activity

1. Nationalism arrives
   (1) effect on students

(a) The revolt grows

(b) Individualism

(c) Changes in Law

(d) Changes in Medicine

(e) Changes in Literature Pages two hundred four to two hundred sixteen.

H. Evaluation of the Univerities' Place in Their Period

(a) Was the education offered worthwhile

(b) If so, was it social process

(c) Or a social product

(d) Can we draw line between the two

(e) Conculsion Pages two hundred sixteen to two hundred twenty-one.

FINIS

The Medieval University: Social Product or Process?

Were the Universities of the Middle Ages products of their times, or did these great educational institutions mold the era in which they flourished? To find the answer to this question is the aim and intent of this thesis.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Before even a partial attempt to answer the question stated above one must consider just what the terms used in the main heading mean and signify. We must evaluate each word so completely and clearly that there can be no doubt as to just what the writer wishes to accomplish.

Medieval

This is the first term that requires definition----and let it be understood that Middle Ages will be used interchangably with this word in this thesis. Medieval may be defined in several different ways according to the views of particular historians. Let us consider some of these various explanations of the term. The economic student would say that the term covered that period in history in which the feudal system was established and developed,

down to the most prominent events which necessarily led to its overthrow.(1) Those that favor the theory of expansion argue that the period lasted from the fall of the Roman Empire until the conquest of Constantinople.(2) Sociologists end the period with the discovery of movable type, feeling that the medium of the printed word changed the whole aspect of peoples.(3) For the purpose of this thesis I have chosen to make a composite definition of the term and say: " Medieval refers to that period in the history of Europe which begins with the final destruction of the Roman Empire and ends with the Renaissance. "

University

This is the next term that claims attention and in seeking a definition I turn to that fine educator, Koos who says, ".......the purpose of an university is to foster research, to give professional training and to spread knowledge. " Weighed in the balance of the times under discussion this definition does not suit our needs at all so it is necessary for us to coin a definition that will answer our need. It suffices to say that the

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(1) Notes from a course in "History of Commerce" given at C.B.A. by Prof. Hunnewell.
(2) Thalheimer,M.E. A Manual of Ancient History. Wilson-Hinkle Company. p 16. 1872.
(3) Everybody's Cyclopedia. Syndicate Publishing Company. vol. 3 p89. 1912.
(4) Koos,L.V. The Junior College. Research Publication of the University of Minn. p 369. 1924.

the university of the type we are considering had for its sole purpose the instruction of young men in a set course of study so that the glory of the Mother Church might be advanced.

Social Product

This is the next term that claims our attemtion. By this is meant a result of the social, political, religious and economic trends of the times. These four factors go to make up society's reactions and how the group acts is a product.

A case in point will clarify this definition. Charles Dickens, great Victorian novelist as he was, could not have written his " Pickwick Papers " if it had not been for the social conditions of the time. He wrote his book to get rid of the jail for debtors. If the evils of the Fleet had not exsisted the story could not have been written----thus the famous book is a product of its time.

Social Process

This term can best be defined by continuing the above illustration. Although the story of the famous ~~club~~ Pickwick is a social product, a result of the conditions of its time it

is also a social progress as because of its wide sale people became familar with the horrors of the Fleet and jail for debt was done away with. If any institution or writing has an effect upon its time it is a social progress as it moves this lagging world forward toward that age when perfection shall be with us.

Summing up these definitions the pur- of this thesis is as stated on page one: " Were the universities of the Middle Ages products of their times or did they mold the era in which they flourished? " This is the question that will be answered.

THE TIMES

Before we are able to appreciate the position of the medieval university it is necessary for us to take a rapid glance at the era in which they served their purpose of sending out learned doctors to argue in scholastic terms. For that matter, the whole answer to the question of progress or product is apt to be found in a brief survey of Europe at this period.

In the Middle Ages there were really only three classes of people---feudal warriors, privileged priests and servile peasants. The latter class included artisans, farmers, peddlers and was considered of no possible importance.

The regular unit of life at this time was not the crowded city or the open homestead with its broad acres. It was the feudal manor. Sometimes this was a pretentious fortification perched on the brow of some lofty hill with a little village of peasants' crude huts scattered at its feet. This castle was unconfortable and built for one purpose---defense. It was too high for scaling ladders, there was no opening in its blank masonry below the height of a man on horseback. The narrow little door was protected by a moat with a wooden bridge, which was hauled up every night. Flanking towers, palisades, portcullises, and citadels all added to the defense of the castle and made it possible for its owner to defy the king's army and cut himself off from contact with the rest of the world.

In castles of this type (more or less extensive, according to the powers and ambitions of their owners) would live the feudal lord, his family, and some scores of retainers -----men-at-arms, varlets, and serving-women. For a normal nobleman of this period there were but two legitimate callings -----warfare and caring for his estate. The whole life of the castle was bound up in these pursuits.

Education of Chivalry

For this reason a lad of noble family would learn to read and write only by exception. From his earliest manhood he would be taught to bear arms, to mount a warhorse, to leap and strike actively in ponderous heavy armor, to handle sword

and lance with ease and skill. His father might send him to the court of his overlord to be "nourished"---that is, taught all the things which pertained to a high-born warrior. Here, first as his lord's page, then as "squire", he would be given certain lessons in court ceremonials, in the courtesy due noblewomen, in the waiting on banquets; but his main education would still be military.

When he was about twenty, this training would be complete. He was now a first-class warrior; a match, with his great horse and well-made armor, for twenty less trained and poorly armed footmen. His lord would give him an elaborate feast, at which the young noble would be given new spurs and girded with a new sword. Finally the lord would give him the accolade-----"Be valiant"-----and the young squire was a knight.

The church played an active part in this impressive ceremonial, as the night before the young man received his golden spurs he passed the night in fasting, spent at the altar in meditation. Communion took place in the morning before the ceremony and the youth then took an oath "to defend the church, to attack the wicked, to respect the priesthood, to protect women and the poor, to serve the country in tranquillity, and to shed his blood, even to the last drop, in behalf of his brethren." (5)

It is well to stop here and consider the power that the church had over this chivalric ideal---for in a short time

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(5) E. P. Cubberley: A Brief History of Education.
Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 89-90. 1922.

we shall find that the Church consecrated the military ability and restless energy of the nobility to her service....and made a pronounced mark upon the universities.

In due time the eldest son might hope to inherit the castle. The younger brothers had to turn adventurers and sue for the hand of some maid and win a fief by this means or through the graces of a prince in whose service he fought. The time not spent in actual warfare could be wasted by endless hunting with dogs and hawks, with wild feasting (ending in carousing) or with tournaments. A long winter evening might be passed with a chess-board, or listening to a minstrel strum and sing the tale of "the great deeds of Roland and Charlemagne." This was weary diversion, however.

Social Life

The times were dull. No wonder men sought relief on the battle field. At least, bloodshed broke the monotony of life. A list has been made of the possible amusements of a French seigneur. (6) There are fifteen; these included fencing, playing chess, eating and drinking, listening to songs, watching bear fights, talking with ladies, holding court, warming one's self, having one's self cupped and bled, and watching the snow fall!

It requires a good deal of imagination for the student of today to think of a time when war, not peace, was the order of the day. A time when "to take one's weapons" was as common as putting on a hat. A journey of any length without arms for

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(6) Davis, J. W.: A History of Modern and Medieval Europe. Houghton Mifflin Co. pp. 130. 1916.

one's self, and, if possible, a strong escort, was unthinkable.

This was an age of "private warfare." The ability to settle one's troubles with brand and battle-axe also served to take up time that was heavy. Quarrels over hunting and fishing rights, over boundaries, over titles to fiefs, over the division of a fief between brothers, over dowery claims of a widowed mother, over the right of an overlord to declare a fief open----these were the excuses that plunged the countryside into misery, and made the peasantry wretched.

Church and Society

So common were these wars between baron and baron that the church took a hand with its "Peace of God." This was an attempt to mitigate the bloodshed by causing a cessation of fighting between Wednesday nights and Monday mornings and on holy days. This had little effect, but such a decree makes very interesting reading: (7)

1."From the first day of the Advent of our Lord (8) through Epiphany(9), and from the beginning of Septuagesima(10) to the eighth day after Pentecost(11) and through that whole day, and throughout the year on every Sunday, Friday, and Saturday, and on the fast days of the four seasons, and on the eve and the day of all the apostles, and on all days canonically set apart----or which shall in the future be set apart----for feasts or fasts, this decree of peace shall be observed; so that both those who

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(7) D. C. Munro: Translations and Reprints, Vol. 1. pp.9-11. 1915.
(8) The Advent season includes the four Sundays next before Christmas.
(9) January 6, the twelfth day after Christmas.
(10)The third Sunday before Lent.
(11)Otherwise known as Whitsunday.

travel and those who remain at home may enjoy security and the most entire peace, so that no one may commit murder, arson, robbery, or assault, no one may injure another with a sword, club, or any kind of a weapon, and so that no one irritated by any wrong, from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost, may presume to carry arms, shield, sword, or lance, or, moreover, any kind of armor. On the remaining days indeed, viz., on Sundays, Fridays, apostles' days and the vigils of the apostles, and on every day set aside, or to be set aside, for fasts or feasts, bearing arms shall be legal, but on this condition, that no injury be done to anyone. If it shall be necessary for any one in the time of the decreed peace---i. e. from the Advent of our Lord to the eighth day after Epiphany, and from Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost----to go from one bishopric to another in which the peace is not observed, he may bear arms, but on the condition that he shall not injure anyone except in self-defense if he is attacked; and when he returns into our diocese he shall immediately lay aside his arms. If it shall happen that any castle is besieged during the days which are included within the peace, the besiegers shall cease from the attack unless they are set upon by the besieged and compelled to beat thelatter back.

"2. And in order that this statute of peace should not be violated by any one rashly and with impunity, a penalitt was fixed by the common consent of all...(*)

"3. It is not an infringement of the peace, if any one orders his delinquent slave, pupil or any one in any way under his charge to be chastised with rods or cudgels. It is also an

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(*) Here follows an enumeration of penalties.

exception to this constitution of peace, if the Lord King publicly orders an expedition to attack the enemies of the kingdom or is pleased to hold a council to judge the enemies of justice. The peace is not violated if, during the time, the duke or other counts, advocates, or their substitutes hold courts and inflict punishment legally on theives, robbers or other criminals.

"4. The statute of this imperial peace is especially enacted for the security of those engaged in feuds; but after the end of the peace, they are not to dare rob and plunder in the villages and houses, because the laws and penalties enacted before the institution of the peace are still legally valid to restrain them from crime, moreover because robbers and highwaymen are excluded from this peace and indeed from any peace.

"5. If any one attempts to oppose this pious institution and is unwilling to promise peace to God with the others or to observe it, no priest in our diocese shall presume to say a mass for him or shall take any care of his salvation; if he is sick, no Christian shall dare to visit him; on his deathbed he shall not receive the Eucharist, unless he repents. The supreme authority of the peace promised to God and commonly extolled by all will be so great that it will be observed not only in our times, but forever among our posterity, because if anyone shall presume to infringe, destroy, or violate it, either now or ages hence, at the end of the world, he is irrevocably excommunicated by us."

Condition of Peasantry

Despite the strictness of such decrees the feudal wars

went on and on. The main sufferers were the peasants, who were the helpless prey of either warring party. Their fields were ravaged, their cattle driven off, their daughters raped. At length one party would become exhausted. Peace would be made and sworn to upon the box of saints' relics in a near-by church. But as soon as the losers saw a chance of victory, the truce would again be broken.

There were, however, other drawbacks to life in the feudal ages, apart from the dangers of armed violances. Outside of the church almost all men were illiterate. The barom in his hall and the serf in his hut alike were victims of superstitions. The church laid great emphasis on hell-fire, and this animal fear of eternal burning kept many a sinner withih bounds of decency.

Feudalism and Filth

Castle and hovel both lacked the rudiments of sanitation and were therefore unhealthy. On the floors of both the "great hall" and the combination living-sleeping-dining room of the peasant was scattered a thick layer of rushes, which was changed twice a year. Into these rushes would be cast most of the scraps from the table. What the countless dogs did not dig out remained hidden among the rushes until the time came to scatter new ones. Into this rough-housing most of the children were born----many born dead. Still more died in early infancy.

But the physical limitations of the feudal castle could be overcome. It was the many mental limitations of its life, and the monotony that made it pall on the man with brains. There was a lack of the most simple intellectual pleasures; the paucity of ideas must have galled thinkers of the time; the narrowness of the human horizon and the perpetual round of carousing, hawking, boar-hunting, tournaments, and warfare must have seemed unbear-

able to those who dreaded soul-deadening monotony and boredom.

There was just one means of escape from such melancholy stagnation, for men of weaker bodies and stronger intellect. This was in the Church.

Church an Escape

So it was to Mother Church that the thinkers, weaklings, and cowards turned for solace, aid and understanding during a period when war, famine, and disease covered most of Europe. The great institution received them with open arms and used these scholars-to-be in building up the schools.

The Church was a political as well as a religious power. No feudal baron was so powerful as she in the feudal system. Possibly one third of all the area of western Europe was in the hands of churchmen. This came about because many a dying baron, stricken by conscience after a turbulent life, willed most of his estates to some abby or bishopric "for the eternal profiting of his soul."

These churchmen, in turn, fall into classes. The first were the secular clergy, who lived in the world and had the "cure of souls"; and the regular clergy (i.e., monks subject to monastic rule.) The bishops had not only the religious duties of their dioceses, but joined in secular business as well, even becoming the kings' officers. The humbler parish priests were usually appointed by a rich layman who endowed the local church, and these men of God, in contrast with their superiors, were usually low-born.
To be sure, men of humble birth rose to the bishopric, but the office proved a very convenient depository for the youngest sons of a noble house, when the eldest had the principality.

It is at this time that we first see the breaking up into cliques of various holy men. This is also the period of the "war" between monks and friars. The former settled behind their walls

and paid little attention to the world, while the latter wandered up and down the countryside, staff in hand.

Compared with the bishops these parish priests were inferior, weak, and ignorant. Among their fellow-peasants, however, they were revered, not only as the intermediaries between God and man, but as the only ones in the parish who could read and write. This respect naturally made mothers long to have their sons priests, and send them to the university. Again we find the influence of the times.

In the monasteries were men more learned than the parish priests. To be sure, they had lost the common touch, but, with less to do among the laity, they could devote their time to study. At its worst their easy life made gluttons and idlers; at its best it meant that the wick of education's lamp would be trimmed.

One thing that all these churchmen claimed in common was exemption from trial in lay courts. A priest had to be tried by his bishop, his monks, or his abbot.

This exemption from trial in lay courts was another attraction of the church. Many a sinner saw a way out of "trial by ordeal" and the "judical duel" by donning the cowl and taking the staff. It was hard to punish a man of God in these days of fear, and even hearty livers could find happiness in the idleness and gluttonous dinners of the clergy.

Little Learning

With such men in the cloisters it is small wonder that there was little originality and a slavish bowing to the dicta of "Master Aristotle." The majority of the monks were content to follow the time-honored authority of the ancients and not notice the phenomena around them. The general storm and stress of the times did not make for scholarship, yet it was by this general upheaval that men sought comfort in the church---a social product and process.

Before taking up the rise of the Church schools, which led to the universities, let us look at the non-noble classes of this period. The knights with their swords and the priests with their masses made nearly all the history during the early Middle Ages. Yet records show that barely one man in forty belonged to these favored classes(12). It is time to say something of the other thirty-nine.

The majority of these servile laborers were bound to the soil, subject to all the demands of forced labor and taxes. They were unable to marry save with the consent of their overlords, and their personal belongings were theirs only as long as they paid taxes to the manor-house. They could be bought and sold like any goods, but the land they lived on had to be sold along with them. If they ran away they were chased down as masterless men, and recalimed as runaways.

Nobles and the Church taught these villains to submit to their lot and support their rulers with their labors and thank the Lord in Heaven if they were allowed the rights of a cur dog. Their days were taken up with the usual duties of farming of the time, and despite our feelings of pity for them they were probably a pretty brutish lot. They had little intelligence beyond that needed to grind corn, till soil, and weave coarse clothing. Their youngsters would lollabout on the floor of their mud-thatched huts and play with the pigs and poultry. "How could God and the saints love such creatures?" ----that was the cry of the nobles.

Methods of tilling the soil were most primitive. In fact, scientific agriculture would have died out during this period if it had not been for the monks(13). At that, a drought or a rainy spell would ruin the

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(12) Statement made by Prof. Ault (C.L.A.) in English History.
(13) Statement made by Prof. Roberts (Ed.) in History of Education.

country side. Davis(14) states that during times of great shortage history relates grim tales of feasts on human flesh, and of the multiplication of wolves, human and quadruped.

Even in times of peace the rights which feudal law secured for the peasants were apt to be violated. Extreme tyranny and cruelty abounded, and yet, as early as the year 1020, Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, wrote the following letter to William, duke of Aquitaine, and set forth the spirit of feudalism at its best:

"Asked to write something concerning the form of fealty, I have noted briefly for you on the authority of the books the things which follow. He who swears fealty to his lord ought always to have these six things in memory; what is harmless, safe and honorable, useful, easy and practicable. Harmless, that is to say that he should not be injurious to his lord in his body; safe, that he should not be injurious to him in his secrets or in defences through which he is able to secure; honorable, that he shall not be injurious to him in his justice or in other matters that pertain to his honor; useful, that he should not be injurious to him in his possessions; easy and practicable, that the good which is his lord is able to do easily, he makes not difficult, nor that which is practicable he makes impossible to him.

"However, the faithful vassal should avoid these injuries is proper, but not for this does he deserve his holding; for it is not sufficient to abstain from evil, unless what is good is done also. It remains, therefore, that in the same six things mentioned above he should faithfully counsel and aid his lord, if he wishes to be looked upon as worthy of his benefice and to be safe concerning the

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(14) Davis, W. S.: Ibid. P. 143.

fealty which he has sworn.

"The Lord also ought to act toward his faithful vassal reciprocally in all these things. And if he does not do this he is justly considered guilty of bad faith, just as the former, if he should be detected in the avoidance of, or the doing of, or the consenting to them, would be perfidious and perjured."

Despite this picture of an ideal condition, the poor peasants received slight justice. Little by little, however, their lot improved. A survey of the period shows that several factors were causing a gradual change in the status of the lower classes. As the church received more and more land the peasants on these papal fiefs were given a chance to earn their freedom, and, at any rate, were treated with humanity. Following the same trend, the Church declared the freeing of serfs a noble act, and many a fearful baron let his slaves go (when he was on his death-bed and had no further use for them).

Coined Money Appears

Another factor was the appearance of coined money, and, instead of working so many days a year for the lord of the manor, the serf could pay cash and devote his time to personal duties. This was true especially in crusading times. It was this use of money that is the main item in the history of the development of the lower classes. To be sure, they were still looked down upon, but now they had a weapon of defense. If the barons needed funds they could hold him back by refusing to pay "commutation" instead of working for him.

Another point is the rising power of the kings. The rulers of the various countries, in their desire to get the control of power out of the hands of a few noblemen, would give the peasants certain protections. This system of royal boons served to help

establish strong central governments.

Rise of Towns

But it is in the rise of the free towns that we find the controlling factor behind the change in the times. Following the year 1000 came a revival of civic life. Several causes contributed to this state of affairs, among which was the increase in commerce. Far and wide the merchants of the time ranged, carrying with them the products of the day, and bringing back wealth and ambition to their native land. We shall see that their tales helped to interest the young men of the period in wandering up and down in search of education.

Another factor that contributed to the growth of the towns was the intelligence of some of the feudal lords. Seeing in the prosperity of their subjects additional wealth for themselves, these rulers gave the towns rights and privileges never before enjoyed by them. This type of freedom did a great deal to increase the power of certain towns. The term "towns" is used rather than "cities" because in the Middle Ages 1000 inhabitants would make a considerable settlement, while 10,000 would make a great city. With the possible exception of Paris and London, there were no places of more than this number of inhabitants as late as the year 1200.

Sometimes it was the presence of a wealthy monastery that was the dominating cause of a town's growth. The activity of the monks in medicine, arts and agriculture did much to bring traders, travelers and buyers to the grey gates of the houses of God. These strangers had money and means of barter, and were willing to exchange that which they had for the offerings of the gowned men of the Church.

These early settlements were at first nothing but a collection of a few nobles and a mass of free or runaway peasants who would rather trade than farm. Feudal law was supreme here as on the manors,

and the lower classes were as hemmed in as they had been when attache to the soil. But the physical characteristics of the towns allowed the non-noble classes to organize in such a manner that the nobles could not touch them.

It was a mere matter of time before the servile classes learned their power and the increasing importance of their labors. those who entered trade and the arts became increasingly wealthy. In order to protect themselves from the raids of their former masters they built high defensive walls. Thus we see that the walled towns that were soon to throw their gates open to the students were social products of their times.

Growth of Freedom

Inside the moated, drawbridge-guarded cities the mailed and mounted knights were helpless when the citizenry poured stones and boiling water on their heads from the roof-tops. The feeling of emancipation that came from this ability to hold their own against the formidably armored men-at-arms spread itself in other arts, beside that of war.

An outstanding example of this state of affairs is seen in the winning of charters by these cities from their overlords. To be sure, time and again these charters were granted by far-seeing and intelligent rulers, but for the most part the people had to win them by fair means or foul. It may be definitely stated that if the freedom seeking peasantry had not felt secure behind their walls the fight for political independence would never have come about. Again we have a social process brought about by a social product.

Sometimes these charters were purchased by the townfolk by the payment of a large sum of money. Then, too, the king might grant them over the head of the local petty ruler in payment of promised money or manpower loans. There are cases on record where

the Pope supported the town in return for a consideration, despite his seemingly pleasant relationship with the ruler. Occasionally the king would beat the Roman authorities by granting a charter, and thus endearing himself to the people of the town. Such a case was that of Henry the Second and the town of Lincoln. (15)

"Know that I have conceded to my citizens of Lincoln all their liberties, customs and laws. which they had in the time of Edward (the Confessor) and William (1) and Henry (1). kings of England; and their gild merchants of the men of the city and of other merchants of the county, just as they had it in the time of our aforesaid predecessors, kings of England. I grant to them moreover, that if anyone shall buy any land within the city, or of the burgage (16) of Lincoln, and shall have it held for a year and a day without any claim, and he who has bought it is able to show that the claimant has been in England within the year and has not claimed it, for the future as before he shall hold it well and in peace, and without any persecution. I confirm also to them, that if anyone shall have remained in the city of Lincoln for a year and a day without claim on the part of any claimant, and has given the customs, and is able to show by the laws and customs of the city that the claimant has been in existence in the land of England and has not made a claim against him, for the future as in the past he shall remain in peace, in my city of Lincoln, as my citizen."

Before long even the most despotic of rulers saw that the granting of charters on the yearly or lump payment basis was the best

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(15) Cheyney, E. P.: Translations and Reprints, vol. ii, No.1,pp.7-8. Revell Press. 1918.

(16) The tenure by which lands and houses were held in a borough.

way of allowing the towns their freedom. It was better to get money from the rich townsmen then to lose the town and the opportunity of enriching their coffers through a revolt.

For the city-folk would revolt. The great bell in the church would toll and the heavy gates would be shut and barred. The residence of the local ruler would be stormed or starved and the charter would be granted before the threat of empty stomachs or gleaming weapons. In any case, the result was a carefully drafted document creating a free town with certain rights of self-government and all taxes and other duties of the citizens carefully defined. From the time the document was sealed until the city was wiped out by plague or time, every inhabitant (excepting Jews and specified others) was a freeman and no longer helpless.

These free-burghers (bourgeoisie) elected their own magistrates, levied their own local army, raised their own taxes, and in time the bond between them and their old feudal lords became very slight. Thus we see that the winning of their charter was a social product which was brought about by the fall of feudalism----a social process.

Wealth, enterprise and new ideas were to be found in the towns. The priests and nobles saw in the Commune their foe, but also saw that in them lay the means of existence. The non-noble classes became noble---in the development of self-respect and the trend toward democratic government.

City Government

Perhaps it would not be amiss to say a few words about the government of thé medieval cities. To be sure, the system differed with the locale and era, but throughout them all is found the same flavor of local independence. Italy, where feudal power had always been weak, saw towns develop until they deserved the title of "re-

publics." In Germany, Flanders and France, liberty never became so untrammelled. In any case, the government of the medieval city was never a perfect democracy.(17)

In some cases the impoverished nobles settled in the towns and lent their names to the business ventures of the merchants and thus formed a civic aristocracy. From this group came the guilds which dominated the city and supplied the "burghermasters" (Germany), "mayors" (France), and "podestas" (Italy), as the local rulers were variously called. Such government, while not founded on human equality, was sure to be based on business efficiency.

Rise of Guilds

The early guilds, according to Professor Hutton Webster, rarely passed laws, and such laws as seemed necessary for the conduct of the guild were drawn up by its leading members and, after being approved by the town authorities, became the by-laws of the organization. Thus we see that the craft guild was subordinate to the municipal government. The situation is made still more difficult when one considers that the town-governors were composed of guild-members.

The articles of these old guilds make most interesting reading. I have chosen to reproduce the charter of the London Spurriers as posted in their great guild-hall(18):

"In the first place,---that no one of the trade of Spurriers shall work longer than from the beginning of the day until the curfew rung out at the Church of St. Sepulchre, without Newgate; by reason that no man can work as neatly at night as by day. And many persons of said trade, who compass how to practice deception in their

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(17) **Davis, W. S. Ibid. p. 143.**

(18) Riley, H. T.: Memorials of London and London Life, pp. 226-228. Reves, 1868.

in their work, desire to work by night rather than by day; and then they introduce false iron, and iron that has been cracked, for tin, and also, they put gilt on false copper, and cracked. And further, ----many of the said trade are wandering about all day, without working at all at their trade; and then, when they have become drunk and frantic, they take to their work, to the annoyance of the sick and of all their neighborhood, as well as by reason of the broils that arise between them and the strange folk (19) who are dwelling among them. And when they blow their fires up so vigorously, that their forges begin all at once to blaze to the great peril of themselves and of the neighborhood all around. And then, too, all the neighbors are in much dread of the sparks, which so vigorously issue forth in all directions from the mouths of the chimneys in their forges. By reason whereof, it seems unto them that working by night should be put an end to, in order such false work and such perils to avoid; and therefore, the Mayor and Aldermen do will, by assent of the good folks of such trade, and for the common profit, that from henceforth such time for working, and such false work made in the trade, shall be forbidden. And if any person shall be found in said trade to do the contrary hereof, let him be amerced, the first time in 40d., one half to go to the use of the Chamber of the Guildhall of London, the other half to the use of said trade; the second time, in half a mark, and the third time in 10s., to the use of the same Chamber and the trade; and the fourth time, let him forswear the trade forever.

"Also---that no one of the said trade shall hang his spurs out on Sunday, or on other days that are Double Feasts(20); but only a sign indicating his business; and such spurs they shall so sell,

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(19) Those not of their trade.
(20) Two feasts or festivals falling on the same day.

they are to show and sell within their shops, without exposing them without, or opening the doors or windows of their shops, on the pain aforesaid.

"Also,---that no one of said trade shall keep a house or shop to carry on his business, unless he is free of the City(21); and that no one shall cause to be sold, or exposed to sale, any manner of old spurs for new ones; or shall garnish them. or change them for new ones.

"Also,---that no one of said trade shall take an apprentice for a less term than seven years; and such apprentice shall be enrolled according to the usages of said City.

"Also,---that if any one of the said trade, who is not a freeman, shall take an apprentice for a term of years, he shall be amerced as aforesaid.

"Also,---that no one of said trade shall receive the apprentice, serving-man, or journeyman, of another in the same trade, during the term agreed upon between his master and him; on the pain aforesaid.

"Also,---that no alien of another country, or foreigner of this country, shall follow or use said trade, unless he is enfranchised before the Mayor, Aldermen, and Chamberlain; and that, by witness and surety of the good folks of the said trade, who will undertake for him as to his loyalty and his good behavior.

"Also,---that no one of the said trade shall work on Saturdays, after None(22) has been rung out in the City; and not from that hour until the Monday morning following."

One is tempted to make remarks about the guild system, but this portion of the thesis is to show merely the trend of the times,

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(21) That is, a freeman of the City of London.
(22) A church service in the middle of the afternoon.

so it is necessary to leave the guilds and turn our attention to that other aspect of medieval commerce---the fairs.

Despite bad roads, worse inns, toll bridges, bandits and robber knights, commerce was coming to the fore. The famous spices of the East, carpets from Bagdad, silks from China and weapons of Damascus steel became familiar to every wealthy citizen. The great rivers became covered with boats, and water transportation being cheaper and safer than posting overland, great cities sprung up wherever these boats touched.

It was in these cities that the fairs sprung up, where merchants and traders from every corner of Europe gathered to exchange not only new goods, but new ideas. By this time the old-time prejudice against lending money at usury had come in, and we find the present banking systems developing.

Not only did traders gather at these fairs, but poets, artists, and scholars who addressed the motley crowds. The cities, small in extent, with dirty, ill-paved streets---often with pigs as official scavengers, became centers of human industry and interest at such times. It was not in these foul side streets that the fairmen gathered, however; it was in the marketplace and under the very shadow of the City Hall.

The nearness of the fair to the seat of government shows in a symbolic fashion the relationship of commerce and the rulers of the time. Barons, mayors and aldermen

freely granted fair charters, as they realized that the resultant influx of visitors would swell their private and public coffers. Then too, even the most hard-headed of business men enjoyed the color of the fair. The juggler with his bear, and that strange, outlandish (in those times) animal, the monkey, entertained the crowd. They would watch the merrymaking by the hour, when tumblers balanced heavy cartwheels on their shoulders, or magicians swallowed daggers. The high light of the entertainment offered by the fair was when two blind men, armed with wooden swords, belabored each other(23).

Mother Church was also quick to see the advantage of these fairs, and allowed them charters when they would be held on a Saint's day. As time went on the fairs held to these charters and forgot the Saint in whose name the right to hold the fair had been granted. An interest grant of a fair charter is the one granted Wells by Bishop Savaric in 1201(24):

"We also determine and for ever grant that whoever shall come there at the four feasts, for the sake of trading, to wit, at the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross, at the feast of St. Kalixtus, at the feast of St. Andrew, and on the anniversary of the dedication of the Chapel of the Blessed Thomas the Martyr(25), that is the morrow of St. John the Baptist, shall do their business in the streets of the borough, and shall be free from evil custom and disturbance and hindrance and exaction, and shall by no means presume to

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(23) Lamb, Harold: Iron Men and Saints. Doubleday, Doran Co. p. 9. 1930.

(24) Ballard, A.: British Bourough Charters. University Press. p. 173. 1913.

(25) Benham, A.R.: Eng. Lit. from Widsith to the Death of Chaucer. Yale University Press. pp253-254. 1916.

enter or desecrate the church of Wells or the churchport to sell their merchandise.

"Granting and decreeing forever, that all coming together there shall be quit of toil forever in all the aforesaid feasts and their eves and morrows, so that for three days they may enjoy liberty in the above named feasts."

Tricks of Trade

Such words of warning had little effect, however, and history recounts many tales of trickers, sharpers and petty thieves at the fairs. In fact, many towns refused to let any one but natives sell goods because aliens cheated and mulcted the local people so badly. Here the fair, a social process, becomes a social product because of the local antipathy of peoples. On the whole, however, such anti-social feeling was justified, and the "moral Gower" of Chaucer has left us a fine picture of a typical fair trader. Incidentally, he calls his character Tricks of the trade.

"If you are ever going to know trick, you will know him by his piment, his claree and his new ypocras. With these he fattens his purse, when city dames, who before visiting the minister or the market come tripping in the morning to his booth. But then Trick is well paid, for each one will try wine provided it be anything but vinegar.

"And then Trick will make them understand that, if they will just wait, they may have vernage, Greek wine, and Malvesie. To cozen them into spending more money, he will name them wines of several sorts of Crete, Ribole,

and Roumania, he will describe wines of Provence and Monterosso, he will say that he has in his cellar Riviera and Muscatel for sale---but he hasn't a third of all these; rather he says so as a novelty that he may induce them to drink.

"From one cask, forsooth, he will draw ten different wines, when once he has them seated in their chairs; and so he says to them, 'O my dear ladies, make good cheer, drink just as you please, for we have sufficient leisure.' Then Trick has his heart's desire, when he has such chamberers who know how to deceive their husbands; for it is all one to him if they are thieves so long as he makes his profit.

"Better than any master of the black art, Trick knows all the art of wine selling, its tricks and wiles; he will counterfeit with his craft Rhine wine with vintage of France; truly, such as never grew anywhere save on the banks of the Thames, he will brisk up and disguise and say it's Rhenish in the pitcher, so knowingly does he devise. There is no man so wide-awake that Trick does not trap him in the end.

"If Trick is a wicked one in wine, he is still worse, by common report, in beer; I say this not for the French, but for the English who daily at the ale-house drink; but especially for the poorer sort who have neither a head or a tail(26) of their own unless it come from

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(26) I. e., a penny.

their labor, who all make great clamor that the keeper of the ale-house is not reliable."

The Crusades

It is now necessary to retrace our steps and discuss the basic movement that not only gave rise to the non-noble classes, but also allowed the development of towns and the resultant **fairs**----the Crusades.

We will never know what this voyage of God really was. At once it became a migration, a journey, a war, and a trade venture. Lords, vagabonds, peasants and slaves, ladies of the manor and tavern wenches joined the marchers. As an unknown chronicler states, it was "a thing unheard of that such divers people and so many distinguished princes, leaving their splendid possessions, their wives and their children, set forth with one accord to seek the most unknown of regions."

It is startling to think of all classes of men leaving the known world and venturing forth to free with their own hands the Sepulchre of Christ. On their shoulders, sewn out of cloth they wore a cross and for this reason were called the "Cruciati"----or Crusaders.

This thesis is not the proper place to recount their sufferings and their deaths. Thousands died on the way, and thousands of others gave up in despair. Yet for a period of three centuries the entire Christian world was united in a common enterprise-----the wiping out of Islam. This strife was not continuous, and some

of it was little more than a smashing of lances, but the rest of it was bloody enough to cost two million lives.

Yet there is a brighter side to this war of God. It gave men a chance to travel and see the world. Up to this time men had lived and died in the towns of their birth without ever having seen any other. Famine took its toll, and now men had an excuse to leave in search of food. Their hungry, insatiable curiosity was a hand-down from their ancestors, the Northmen, and what matter if men and beasts lurked in the forests? The monasteries stood ready to house a wanderer at all times. Thus again we see the influence of the church in the march of progress.

"Everyone who knocks, regardless of his station, shall be greeted in the name of God, and thanked for his coming."

Urban's Call

That was on the doors of the monasteries, and thus, with a place to stop, and the urge to see the world, and a chance, by a few minutes' fighting, to pave a sure way into heaven, the lands of Europe responded to Urban's call. I am setting it forth in full because it is at once a social product and process. It is a product of its time, as it was a measure calculated to heal the schism caused by Henry the Fourth's election of bishops, and the action of Guilbert. Then too, Urban saw that it would end the feudal strife that was draining the best blood of Europe. It is a social process as it brought about the Crusades, the movement that crystallized the university's development.

Urban did not speak in Latin (social product). He spoke to the French in their own Romance.(27)

"Oh ye men of the Franks, who live beyond the mountains! God hath favored you in many ways, in your your happy land as in your steadfast faith, and valor. To you our words are spoken, and by you our message will be passed on. We wish you to know what grievous cause has brought us hither to your land, and what need has led us not only to you but to all the faithful.

"I speak to you who are present; I announce it to those who are absent, and Christ ordains it.

"From the borders of Jerusalem and the city Constantinople ominous tidings have gone forth. Often, before now, they have come to my ears. An accursed race, emerging from the kingdom of the Persians, a barbarous people, estranged from God, has invaded the lands of the Christians in the east and has depopulated them by fire, steel and ravage. These invaders are Turks and Arabs. They have advanced through the empire of Constantinople as far as the Mediterranean---that is, as far as the strait called the arm of St. George.

"The Empire of Constantinople is now mutilated and has lost so much land that a voyager could not cross the dismembered part in two months. Until now, this

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(27) Lamb, Harold: Ibid. pp. 39-42.

empire has been our rampart. It is in dire straits.

"These Turks have led away many Christians, captives, to their own country; they have torn down the churches of God everywhere, or used them for their own rites. What more shall I say to you? Listen. The invaders befoul the altars with the filth out of their bodies, they circumcize Christians and pour the blood of the circumcision upon the altars or into the baptismal fonts. They stable their horses in these churches which are now withdrawn from the service of God. Yea, the churches are served, but not by holy men---for only the Turks use them. And who else now serves the church of the Blessed Mary, where she herself was buried in body, in the valley of Jehosophat?

"Even now the Turks are torturing Christians, binding them and filling them with arrows, or making them kneel, bending their heads, to try if their swordsmen can cut through their necks with a single blow of a naked sword. What shall I say of the ravishing of the women? To speak of this is worse than to be silent. You, in France, have heard the murmur of agony on the border of Spain. The time may come when you will see your wives violated and your children driven before you as slaves, out of the land.

"Think of those who have crossed the sea, as pilgrims. If they carried wealth, they were forced to

pay toll and tribute every day, at the gates of the cities and at the entrance to the churches. If they were accused of anything they were forced to buy their freedom again. And those that had no money, trusting in poverty-----what of them? They were searched, and even the callouses were cut from their bare heels to see if they had sewed something there. They were given scammony to drink, until they vomited or burst their bowels---lest they had swallowed coins. More, their bowels were cut open with a sword, their intestines pulled forth and slit, so that what was hidden there could be disclosed. Who can relate this without sorrow? For they are your blood brothers---children of the same Christ and sons of the same Church.

"On whom will fall the task of vengeance unless upon you, who have won glory in arms? You have the courage and the fitness of body to humble the hairy heads uplifted against you. I say this to you---and what more to be said? Listen.

"You are girdled knights, but you are arrogant with pride. You turn upon your brothers with fury, cutting down one the other. Is this the service of Christ? Let us hold to the truth, to our shame. This is not the way of life. Oppressors of children, despoilers of women, man-slayers, wreakers of sacrilege, murderers, awaiting the payment of blood---you flock to battles like vultures that sight a corpse from afar.

Verily, this is the worse way. Verily, if you would save your souls, lay down the girdles of such knighthood.

"Come forward to the defense of Christ. O ye who have carried on feuds, come to the war against the infidels. O ye who have been thieves, become soldiers. Fight a just war. Labor for an everlasting reward, ye who were hirelings, serving for a few solidi.

"Let no obstacle turn you aside, but when you have arranged your affairs and gathered together supplies ----enter upon the journey when winter is ended and spring is here again, God guiding you----"

Here cheers broke out, and when the tumult subsided Urban continued:

"'Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.' Unless the Lord God had been here in your minds, you would not have cried out thus, as one. And so I say to you that God has drawn this cry from you. Let it be your battle cry; when you go against the enemy let this shout be raised----'God wills it.'

"And more---whosoever shall offer himself to go upon this journey, and shall make his vow to go, shall wear the sign of the cross upon his head or breast.

"Yet the old and infirm should not go, or they who are unfit to bear arms; nor should women set out

upon this holy pilgrimage without their husbands or brothers or guardians. For such are a hindrance rather than an aid. Let the rich give help to the poor. Let no possessions detain you, nor the love you may bear to children, parents or homes. Remember what it is said in the Gospel. 'Every one that hath forsaken houses or brethren or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands for My name's sake shall receive an hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life.'

"Set forth, then, upon the way to the holy Sepulcher; wrest that land from an evil race, and keep it for yourself. That land which floweth with milk and honey-----Jerusalem, fruitful above other lands where rested the Lord. There He died for us; there He was buried. And in the Sepulcher the yearly miracle has not ceased. For---I say what you know well---yearly in the Passion, in the darkened church the lamps were lighted by no human hand, but by divine agency. And now, unattended, with few to see the miracle, these lamps still kindle miraculously. Let them summon you! Who is so hard of heart that he is not moved by a great miracle?

"Go therefore, and fear not. Your possessions here will be safeguarded, and you will despoil the enemy of greater treasures. Do not fear death, where Christ laid down **His** life for you. If any should lose their

lives, even on the way thither, by sea or land, or in strife with the pagans, their sins will be requited them. I grant this to all that go, by power vested in me by God.

"Fear not torture, for therein lies the crown of martyrdom. The way is short, the struggle brief, the reward everlasting. Yea, I speak now with the voice of the prophet, 'Arm thyself, O mighty one!' Take up your arms, valiant sins, and go. Better fall in battle than live to see the sorrow of your people and the desecration of your holy places.

"Go, with One who lacks not the power greater than wealth to aid you. Lo, I see before you, leading you to His war, the standard bearer who is invisible ----Christ."

From this speech came the growth of cities. Venice and Naples surged to power by supplying the traveling warriors with supplies and ships. Evil-doers saw a way to cleanse themselves of sin. More than that, there was no feudal control of the servile classes here-----had not the Holy Father promised that Jesus Himself would lead? Urban had done what he set out to do, but more than that----he had lit a fire that soon was to spread beyond his control and burn through the ages.

Both those who went on this voyage of God and those who remained at home were influenced by the Crusades.

The travel to these far off lands and the contact with learned peoples of the East excited western imaginations and broadened western minds. The guilds, thanks to the increase in trade, rose to new heights. This commercial revival caused many schools to be established, as wealthy citizens who did not go to the wars thought that by endowing the chantry and parish schools they would assure themselves a warm reception in Heaven.

RISE OF THE UNIVERSITIES

As mentioned above, the parish and chantry schools were the offshoot of religious attempts to purchase an entrance to heaven. Yet these schools flourished, while the monastery schools, steeped in religion, failed to keep up with the trends of the times, and went down in importance. The heretofore relatively unimportant cathedral schools, because of their location in rich and accessible towns, rose to power, and some of them started to attract students from other countries:(X)

"a. We, Rupert the elder, by the grace of God Count Palatine of the Rhine, elector of the Holy Empire and duke of Bavaria-----lest we seem to abuse theprivilege conceded to us by the apostolic see of founding a place of study at Heidelberg like to that at Paris, and lest, for this reason, being subjected to the divine judgment, we should merit to be deprived of the privilege granted,-----do decree with provident counsel, which decree is to be observed there unto all time,

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(X) Charter of the University of Heidelberg, as quoted by Cubberley, from Emminghaus: Corpus Juris Germanici; translated by Henderson.

that the University of Heidelberg shall be ruled, disposed and regulated according to the modes and matters accustomed to be observed in the university of Paris. Also that, as a handmaid of the Parisian institution----a worthy one, let us hope,---- the latter's steps shall be imitated in every way possible; so that, namely, there shall be four faculties in it: the first, of sacred theology or divinity; the second, of canon and civil law, which, by reason of their similarity, we think best to comprise under one faculty; the third, of medicine; the fourth, of liberal arts-----of the threefold philosophy, namely, primal, natural, and moral, three mutually subservient daughters. We wish this institution to be divided and marked out into four nations, as it is at Paris; and that all these faculties shall make one university, and that to it the individual students, in whichever of the said faculties they are, shall indivisibly belong like lawful sons of one mother. Likewise that that university shall be governed by one rector, and that the different masters and teachers, before they are admitted to the common pursuits of our institution, shall swear to observe the statutes, laws, privileges, liberties and franchises of the same, and not reveal its secrets, to whatever grade they may arise. Also that they will uphold the honour of the rector and the rectorship of our university, and will obey the rector in all things lawful and honest, whatever be the grade to which they may afterwards happen to be promoted. Moreover that the different masters and bachelors shall read their lectures

and exercise their scholastic functions and go about in caps and gowns of a uniform and similar nature, according as that has been observed in Paris up to this time in the different faculties. And we will say thqt if any faculty, nation or person shall oppose the aforesaid regulations, or pertinaciously refuse to obey them or any one of them----which God forbid,---from that time forward that same faculty, nation or person, if it do not desist upon being warned, shall be deprived of all connection with our aforesaid institution, and shall not have the benefit of our defence or protection. Moreover we will and ordain that as the university as a whole may do for those assembled here and subject to it, so each faculty, nation or province of it may found lawful statutes and ones suitable to its needs, provided that through them or any one of them no prejudice is done to the above regulations and to our institution, and that no kind of impediment arise from them. And we will that when the separate bodies shall have passed the statutes for their own observance they may make them perpetually binding on those subject to them and on their successors. And as in the university of Paris the different servants of the institution have the benefit of the different privileges which its masters and scholars enjoy, so in starting our institution in Heidelberg, we grant, with even greater liberality, through these presents, that all the servants, viz.: its Pedells, librarians, lower officials,

preparers of parchment, scribes, illuminators and others who serve it, may each and all, without fraud, enjoy in it the same privileges, franchises, immunities and liberties with which its masters or scholars are now or shall hereafter be endowed.

"b. Lest in the new community of the city of Heidelberg, their faults being unpunished, there be an incentive to the scholars of doing wrong, we ordain with provident counsel by these presents, that the bishop of Worms, as judge ordinary of the clerks of our institution,shall have and possess, now and hereafter while our institution shall last, prisons, and an office in our town of Heidelberg for the detection of criminal clerks. These things we have seen fit to grant to him and his successors, adding these conditions: that he shall permit no clerk to be arrested unless for a misdemeanor; that he shall restore anyone detained for such fault or for any light offence to his master or to the rector if he asks for him, a promise having been given that the culprit will appear in court and that the rector or master will answer for him if the injured parties should go to law about the matter. Furthermore that, on being requested, he will restore a clerk arrested for a crime on slight evidence, upon receiving a sufficient pledge-----sponsers if the prisoner can obtain them, otherwise an oath if he cannot obtain sponsers-----to the effect that he will answer in court the

charges against him; and in all these things there shall be no pecuniary exactions, except that the clerk shall give satisfaction, reasonably and according to the rule of the aforementioned town, for the expenses which he incurred while in prison. And that he will detain honestly and without serious injury a criminal clerk thus arrested for a crime where the suspicion is grave and strong, until the truth can be found out concerning the deed of which he is suspected. And he shall not for any cause, moreover, take away any clerk from our aforesaid town, or permit him to be taken away, unless the proper observances have been followed, and he has been condemned by judicial sentence to perpetual imprisonment for a crime. We command our advocate and bailiff and their servants in our aforesaid town, under pain of losing their office and our fabour, not to put a detaining hand on any master or scholar of our said institution, nor to arrest him nor allow him to be arrested, unless the deed be such a one that that master or scholar ought rightly to be detained. He shall be restored to his rector or master, if he is held for a slight cause, provided he will swear and promise to appear in court concerning the matter; and we decree that a slight fault is one for which a layman, if he had committed it, ought to have been condemned to a light pecuniary fine. Likewise, if the master or scholar detained be found gravely or strongly suspected of the crime, we command that he be handed over by our officials to the bishop or to his representative in our said town, to be kept in custody.

"c. By the tenor of these presents we grant to each and all the masters and scholars that, when they come to said institution, while they remain there, and also when they return from it to their homes, they may freely carry with them both coming and going, throughout all the lands subject to us, all their things which they need while pursuing their studies, and all the goods necessary for their support, without any duty, levy, imposts, tailles, gabelles, or other exactions whatever. And we wish them and each one of them, to be free from all the aforesaid imposts when purchasing corn, wines, meat, fish, clothes and all things necessary for their living and for their rank. And we decree that the scholars from their stock in hand of provisions, if there remain over one or two waggonloads of wine without their having practiced deception, may after the feast of Easter of that year sell it en gros without paying impost. We grant to them, moreover, that each day the scholars, of themselves or through their servants, may be allowed to buy in the town of Heidelberg, at the accustomedhour, freely and without impediment or hurtful delay, any eatables or other necessaries of life.

"d. Lest the masters and scholars of our institution of Heidelberg may be oppressed by the citizens, avarice inducing them, through the extortionate price of lodgings, we have seen fit to decree that henceforth each year, after Christmas, one expert from the university on the part of the scholars, and one prudent, pious and circumspect citizen

on the part of the citizens, shall be deputed to fix on the price for the students' lodgings. Moreover we will and decree that the different masters and scholars shall, through our bailiff, our judge and the officials subject to us, be defended and maintained in the quiet possession of the lodgings given to them free or of those for which they pay rent. Moreover, by the tenor of these presents, we grant to the rector and the university, or to those deputed by them, entire and total jurisdiction concerning the paying of rents for the lodgings occupied by the students, concerning the making and buying of codices, and the borrowing of money for other purposes by the scholars of our institution; also concerning the payment of assessments, together with everything that arises from, depends on and is connected with these.

"e. In addition we command our officials that, when the rector requires their and our aid and assistance for carrying out his sentences against scholars who try to rebel, they shall assist our clients and servants in this matter; first, however, obtaining lawful permission to proceed against clerks from the lord bishop of Worms, or from one deputed by him for this purpose."

This was the start of the universities---social process and product at once. For example, the political events in north Italy emphasized the study of law---in the cathedral school---a typical social product. Paris, long a center of the Church, devoted its schools to the arts and theology.

Another aspect of the Crusades also contributed to the rise of the universities. We see that the warriors went East

to capture the horned devils and came home to ape the polished gentlemen. The young men of the time saw much in Moslem learning, and we find them going to the age-old school of the followers of Islam. In order to combat this tendency, the Mother Church was compelled to establish schools of her own. Again a social product.

To be sure, the universities were not organized as they are today. They usually grew up around a teacher of some reputation, who attracted more and more students. In this way a studium was created. As time went on, other individuals gathered----stationers, parchment sellers and others, and before long the school was a definitely established body.

Student Guilds

The students and teachers did much organizing themselves, and, being medieval men, organized along medieval lines. They took over the guild idea and banded together for protection from tolls, oppression of cities, high prices and even freedom from strict church regulation. They sought and obtained charters to study, and discussion and study became the order of the day.

This student-guild organization was similar in every respect to that of the artisan guilds. From a freshman to a Master was exactly the same idea as the

development of an apprentice into a Masterworkman. In the rise of these guilds we see the start of the organization of thinking men which has persisted in our education down to the present day. This guild organization is completely described in another section of this thesis.

The most important right the university received in its charter was that of examining and licensing its own teachers. Thus we see that the objective of the universities was to prepare teachers, who, in turn, would prepare more teachers to carry on the word of God and spread knowledge of the Seven Liberal Arts. The license was usually granted by the bishop of the town, as the university was the natural outgrowth of his cathedral schools. The following Papal Bull formally grants the right to teach anywhere to Masters and Doctors of the University of Paris (28):

"Desiring, therefore, that the students in the field of knowledge in the city of Paris, may be stimulated to strive for the reward of a Mastership, and may be able to instruct, in the faculties in which they have deserved to be adorned with a Master's chair, all those who come from all sides,----we decree, by this present letter, that whoever of our University in the aforesaid city shall have been examined and approved by whom, under apostolic

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(28) Papal Bull translated by Norton, reproduced by Cubberley in Readings in the History of Education. pp. 166-167. 1920.

authority, the right to lecture is customarily bestowed on licentiates in said faculties, according to the custom heretofore observed there,---and who shall have from them license in the Faculty of Theology, or Canon Law, or Medicine, or the Liberal Arts,---shall thenceforward have authority to teach everywhere outside of the aforesaid city, free from examination or test, either public or private, or any other new regulation as to lecturing or teaching. Nor shall he be prohibited by any one, all other customs and statutes to the contrary notwithstanding; and whether he wishes to lecture or not in the Faculties referred to, he shall never the less be considered a Doctor."

Movement of Scholars

This freedom of scholars to teach anywhere increased greatly the number of schools, and we find wandering professors going from town to town, setting up a chair for a brief period and then moving to some other locality. When they settled in a town that made enough concessions they established themselves permanently. Thus again we have the question of product and process.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to set forth the wording of one of these licenses to teach. In the following form we learn all about the requirements of a teacher at this time-------that is, all

but one. What the one left out is we will discuss below.

Rashdall, from whose book the following form is taken, dates it as 1710, but it is considered by him to be similar to the ones used in the medieval era: (29)

"Inasmuch as you have been presented to me for examination in both (Civil and Canon) Laws for the customary approval, by the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent D. D. (naming the Promoters), golden Knights, Counts Palatine, Most Celebrated Doctors, and inasmuch as you have undergone an arduous and rigorous examination, in which you bore yourself with so much learning and distinction that that body of Most Illustrious and Excellent Promoters without one dissenting voice,---have judged you worthy of that laurel, therefore by the authority which I have as Archdeacon and Senior Chancellor, I create, Publish, and name you, Doctor in the aforesaid Faculties, giving to you every privilege of lecturing, of ascending the Master's chair, of writing glosses, of interpreting, of acting as Advocate, and of exercising also the functions of a Doctor here and everywhere throughout the world; furthermore, of enjoying those privileges which those happy individuals, who have been so deserving in these fostering colleges, are accustomed to use and enjoy.

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(29) Rashdall, E.: The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages. vol. 11, p. 734. Oxford Press. 1895.

"And I trust that all these things will forever result in the increase of your fame and the honor of our Colleges, to the praise and glory of Almighty God and of the ever blessed Virgin Mary."

Religion and Teaching

The casual reader of the above document would feel that teachers were compelled to undergo and arduous and rigorous examination in order to instruct the gowned students. It seems, on the surface, that erudition was a prime requirement for the professors of the period, yet nothing could be farther from the truth. The sole requirement demanded of many of these universities, and considered the most important anywhere, by the authorities was merely "soundness in the faith." Again a product of a time when the church ruled all.

In the fight for certain privileges the universities received several rights which seem to us quite singular. An outstanding example of this is the right of cessatio, which means that the students had the right to stop lectures---in other words, go out on strike as a means of redress against a wrong done them by the town or church. This method usually brought the offending party to terms quite promptly.

Right of Cessatio

This right to cease attending lectures was

given them by a Papal Bull:(30) "And if, perchance, the assessment (right to fix the prices) of lodgings is taken from you, or anything else is lacking, or an injury or outrageous damage, such as death or the mutilation of a limb, is inflicted on one of you, unless through a suitable admonition satisfaction is rendered within fifteen days, you may suspend your lectures until you have received full satisfaction. And if it happens that any one of you is unlawfully imprisoned, unless the injury ceases in a remonstrance from you, you may, if you judge it expedient, suspend your lectures immediately."

With such a right, it is easy to see that the Vagi brought entire faculties about to their way of thinking. There was not a privilege that these students had that they did not use to the fullest extent, and the right to suspend lectures was commonly used. An example of this is found at Oxford in the early days. which shows how the early universities fought with both the Church government and the civil authorities for the right of controlling their own activities. Indeed, this search for internal government, free from outside influence, marks the start of the great revival of learning that was to make the universities hot-beds of sedition and new dogma.

The Oxford case------"About the same time a clerk who was studying in the liberal arts at Oxford, by accident

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(30) Bull of Gregory IX ---translated by D. C. Munro.

killed a woman, and when he found she was dead, sought safety in flight. But the bailiff of the town, and others who came up and found the woman dead, began to try and find the murderer in his hostel, which he had hired with three other clerks, and not finding the criminal, took his three friends, who knew almost nothing about the murder, and threw them into prison. A few days afterwards, on orders of the English king, in contempt for the liberty of the church, they were taken outside the town and hung. On this, nearly 3000 clerks, masters and scholars alike, left Oxford, not a single one of the whole University remaining. Some of them went to study the liberal arts at Cambridge, some to Reading, but the town of Oxford was left empty." (31)

Thus we see that Oxford was the means of a movement of scholars which was fundamentally a social progress due to the slighting of a social product. A well-known law was flouted----and an historical movement took place. Moreover, the Oxford cessatio marks how vigorously the early universities contended with both Church and civil authorities for the right of freedom in internal government.

Further Explanation of Student- Guilds

No study of the medieval university would be complete without mentioning the instructors of these great educational

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(31) Leach's translation of Roger of Wendover.

institutions. Before doing so, however, it will be necessary to explain still further the manner in which a student rose to the position of lecturer. I am taking Cubberley's paragraph on the degrees in the student guild and setting it down, as I have found no description to equal it in all my study: (32)

".......accordingly it came about in time that, after a number of years of study in the Arts under some master, a student was permitted to present himself for a test as to his ability to define words, determine the meaning of phrases, and read the ordinary Latin texts in Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic (the Trivium), to the satisfaction of other masters than his own. In England this test came to be known by the term determine. Its passage was equivalent to advancing from apprenticeship to the ranks of a journeyman, and the successful candidate might now be permitted to assist the master, or even give some elementary instruction himself while continuing his studies. He now became an assistant or companion, and by the fourteenth century was known as a baccalaureus, a term used in the Church, in chivalry, and in the guilds, and which meant a beginner. There was at first, though, no thought of establishing an examination and a new degree for the completion of this first step in studies.

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(32) Cubberley, E. P.: Ibid. pp. 116-117.

"When the student had finally heard a sufficient number of courses, as required by the statutes of his guild, he might present himself for examination for the teaching license. This was a public trial, and took the form of a public disputation on some stated thesis, in the presence of the masters, and against all comers. It was the student's 'masterpiece', analogous to the masterpiece of any other guild, and he submitted it to a jury of masters of his craft. Upon his masterpiece being judged satisfactory, he also became a master in his craft, was now able to define and dispute, might have a seal, and was variously known as master, doctor, or professor, all of which were once synonymous terms. If he wished to prepare himself for teaching one of the professional subjects he studied still further, usually for a number of years, in one of the professional faculties, and in time he was declared to be a Doctor of Law, or Medicine, or of Theology."

The "Faculties"

A word or two about the organization of the teaching staff will not be amiss. The groups of various instructors were divided into "faculties"---a term which we today apply in the singular to the entire corps of teachers of an university. Perhaps the reason for the medieval men dividing themselves up into faculties instead of considering themselves one entire faculty lies in the fact that they thought the mind was composed of various "faculties". Here again we may have a social product.

The first faculty to calim our attention is that of the Arts. As the direct successor of the old-

time cathedral school the Seven Liberal Arts were the only things taught. The Faculty of Law took the glosses worked out at Bologna, and instructed pupils not only in civil, but also in canon law. Again a product of the times. The Medical Faculty seized avidly upon the discoveries at Montpellier and Salerno and taught all that was known about medical science (sic!) at that time. Last of the four faculties was that of Theology. The purpose of this group of teachers was to prepare men for the service of the Church. Into this faculty came the two century-long battle of the scholastics----a typically social product which, in turn, brought about a burst of free thinking as a revolt----so scholasticism was also a social progress (though not willingly).

All students attended the Arts Faculty before listening to lectures at any of the other three schools. Latin, of course, was the language of the text-books and of the lectures. For this reason the sole requirement for entrance into the university was a knowledge of Latin -----an examination that was with us until 50 years ago.

Scarceness of Books

It seems strange that because of the laxness in admittance that it should take so long for a student to receive his graduate degree. The answer is found in another social product---hand-written books and glosses. Not until that greatest of all social processes, the printing press,

made education available with the least expenditure of effort was the length of time required for a degree cut down. Recognizing the shortage of books, pious people willed their libraries to the universities, as in the following incident: (33)

"To all the officers of the court at Paris who shall read this document, greeting in the Lord. We make known that John of Orleans, constituted master in our presence, canon and chancellor of Paris, acknowledges and admits that he has received and had from the venerable man master Nicholas, arch-deacon of the church at Paris, formerly chancellor of the aforesaid church at Paris, the books named below---to be lent to the poor students studying theology,---according to a certain clause contained in the will of master Stephen of blessed memory, formerly arch-deacon of Canterbury, which is inserted in the present document as follows:

"I will and command that my books on theology shall be delivered to the chancellor of Paris who, for the sake of piety, shall lend them to poor students studying theology at Paris who are without books; in such a manner, however, that each chancellor, each year, shall receive back the aforesaid books, and after receiving them shall deliver and lend them, each year, to the poor students as shall seem expedient.

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(33). Cubberley, E. P.: Ibid. pp. 176-177.

"The names of the books are as follows:

1. The Bible complete with a glossary.
2. Genesis and Exodus, glossed in one volume.
3. The books of Solomon, glossed in one volume.
4. Exodus, glossed by itself.
5. Job, glossed by itself.
6. Ezekiel, glossed by itself.
7. The Gospels, glossed by themselves in one volume.
8. The Psalter, with complete glossary.
9. The four books of sentences.
10. The books of Numbers.
11. Joshua, Judith, Ruth, Deuteronomy, glossed in one volume.
12. The four books of Kings, Chronicles, first and second.
13. Esdras, first and second of Maccabees, Amos, glossed, in one volume.
14. The Twelve Prophets, glossed in one volume.
15. The Psalter, glossed and complete.
16. The Epistles of Paul, glossed.
17. The Psalter, glossed and complete.
18. The Historia Scolastica of Pierre le Mangeur.
19. The four Gospels, glossed.
20. The Epistles of Paul, glossed with a smaller glossary.
21. The Psalter, glossed and complete.
22. The first and second book of Maccabees, glossed as far as the tenth chapter.
23. The Gospel of Mark.
24. The Gospels, glossed.

25 and 26. The Bible in two volumes, with marginal notes, which Bishop Stephen presented.

27. The original of the Sentences of master Peter Lombard. in a certain volume, bound in calf, now somewhat worn, with round copper nails in the covers.

"We, the above-mentioned official, have thought indeed that, in testimony and witness of all the above-mentioned, we ought to place on the present writing the seal of the court at Paris, together with the seal of the aforesaid chancellor; hoping and asking that his successors, who shall be chancellors, shall order and do with the aforesaid books, for the sake of divine poetry, according to the contents of the aforesaid clause.

"Done the year of our Lord, 1271, Wednesday, the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude."

The list above shows the importance of the 'glosses', and, in fact, these commentaries on the book were often larger than the text itself. The "glosses" not only included explanatory notes, summaries and references, but also confirming and dissenting opinions on the worth of the statements in the text, by experts. Even after texts came into more common use, the students still continued to "gloss" their volumes---and this is done today on a smaller scale by some few students.

Later in this thesis we will discuss the importance of the texts in the universities of this time and the methods of lecturing. It is now, however, time to turn our attention to the great minds who lectured to the gowned students of this period.

First it is necessary to ask the reader's indulgence. The very nature of the next section makes a smooth, connected series of pages almost an impossibility. Moreover, the task attempted is no slight one---that of showing the part the teachers played in the development of the universities. The writer has not confined himself to one country, but has attempted to make a broad survey of all of Europe over a period of four centuries, from the days of Charlemagne down to Bacon.

PROFESSORS AND PATRONS

In thinking, writing and talking about the medieval university we are too apt to regard that institution merely as the logical outgrowth of the activity

of the Mother Church in expanding her educational system by multiplying the monastery and cathedral schools and endowing them with that curriculum we are pleased to call the Seven Liberal Arts-----grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, atronomy and music.

We are prone to forget the human element in the university's development, particularly when we know that the Church Council had ordered that a school be established in the precincts of every cathedral in Christendom, with at least one master in charge. Our mistake is even more understandable when we list the outstanding schools of these early days:

England...........	The abbatial School of York, under Alcuin.
Low Countries.....	The capitular Schools of Utrecht, Liege and Tournai.
Germany...........	The abbatial Schools of Fluda, under Raban Maur; Salzburg, St. Gall and Reichnau.
France............	The Ecole Palatine, Alcuin, Raban Maur and Erigen; the abbatial Schools of Tours, Corbie, Cluny where St. Odo taught, Le Bec where St. Anselm and Lafranc had chairs, Fleury and Auxerre. Also the episcopal Schools of Lyons, Rheims, Laon where St. Anselm also taught and Chertre, the home of John of Salisbury.
Paris.............	The Cathedral School of Notre Dame and the abbatial Schools of St. Genevieve, St. Germain-des-Pres and St. Victor.---this last notable for the famous four: Thomas, Adam, Hughes, and Richard de St. Victor. It is said that Thomas a Becket also taught here. (34)

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(34) List from the Initation thomiste of the Dominican, Father Pegues.

With this long list of fine schools it is very easy to fall into the error of tracing with one fell sweep of the pen the development of the universities. But the thought of a moment suffices to show us that no such institution could possibly be separated from men -----their minds and manners.

Who the men were who followed and lit the lamp of education during this period I shall set forth in this section of this thesis. No complete listing of this group is possible in a thesis of this type. I shall, in a simple way, endeavor to translate the early university into terms of personality.

Because it is impossible to open the heavy tome of history and say, "Here is the first man to establish an university," I have had to choose a name dogmatically and build up my paper from him. Such a move was necessary, and I trust will be allowed by my reader.

Charlemagne's Influence.

It being my contention that we are prone to give all the credit for the university to that group of great thinkers of the twelfth, and even of the eleventh century, I have gone to very early medieval days for my first personality----Charlemagne. For, to my mind, this man laid the foundation for learning and trimmed the wick of the lamp of education in the days of darkness and doubt.

With a deep insight into the needs of his people he wrote to the archbishops, bishops and abbots of his realm a letter which historians have called the charter

of education for the Middle Ages----"de litteris colendis." This social process had the force of a royal decree, and did for the lower classes what his Palace School did for the sons of the nobles:(35)

"Be it known to your Devotion, pleasing to God, that we and our faithful have judged it well that, in the bishoprics and monasteries committed by Christ's favor to our charge, besides the due observance of a regular and holy life, care shall be had for the study of letters, that those to whom God has given the ability to learn may receive instruction, each according to his several capacity. And this, that, just as obedience to the rule (36) gives order and beauty to your acts, so zeal in teaching and learning may impart the like graces to your words, and thus those who seek to please God by living aright may not fail to please Him by speaking right. For it is written, 'by thy words thou shalt be justified or condemned;'(37) and though it is better to do right than to know it, yet it is needful also to know the right before we can do it.......

"But in many letters received by us in recent years from divers monasteries, informing us of the prayers offered upon our behalf at their sacred services by the brethren there dwelling, we have observed that though the

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(35) Gaskoin, J.B.Alcuin: His Life and Work, pp. 182-184. Cambridge University Press. 1904.

(36) The Benedictine Rule.

(37) St. Matthew xii, 37.

sentiments were good the language was uncouth, the unlettered tongue failing through ignorance to interpret aright the pious devotion of the heart.

"And hence, we have begun to fear that, if their skill in writing is so small, so their power of rightly comprehending the Holy Scriptures may be far less than is befitting; and it is known to all that, if verbal errors are dangerous, errors of interpretation are still more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters but to apply yourselves thereto with that humble perseverance which is pleasing to God, so that you may be able with greater ease and accuracy to search into the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures.

"For, as in the sacred pages there are images and tropes and other similar figures, no one can doubt that the quickness with which the reader apprehends the spiritual sense will be proportionate to the extent of his previous instruction in letters. But let the men chosen for this task be such as are both themselves able and willing to learn and eager to impart their learning to others. And let the zeal with which the work is done equal the earnestness with which we now ordain it. For we desire that you bemarked, as behooves the soldiers of the Church, within by devotion, and without by wisdom---chaste in your life, learned in your speech---so that

if any come to you to call upon the Divine Master, or to behold the excellence of religious life, they may not be only edified by your aspect when they regard you, but instructed by your wisdom when they hear you read or chant, and may return home rejoicing and give thanks to God Most High.

"Fail not, as you would enjoy our favor, to send copies of this letter to all your suffragans and to every monastery."

This was a letter from a man well-versed in art -----the art of war,---but it shows the interest he had in education. It is well that we remember that this scholarly endeavor to raise the standards of learning was written by a military leader---and yet it is worthy to be mentioned in this paper.

Do not, however, receive the impression that the writer feels there were no patrons of learning before this time. Nothing could be more false. The ages before had teemed with teachers----St. Ambrose the Mystic, who tried to bring Milan to its senses, and, failing, retired to his study and plunged into philosophy, which he passed on to his students; St. Jerome the Humanist, who spread monasticism while he wrote poetry of women; Boethius the Scholastic, who was writer of elegiacs---elegies of his lady's chamber. All these men had done much for education, but to Charlemagne goes the credit for honoring learning in a "royal" manner.

But to return to the work of Charles the Great. It is easy to see that he was more than a mere general and that he was, in truth, an astute observer of men and affairs. Perhaps his interest in education can be traced to his romantic war against the Caliph of Cordova----a series of battles rich in legends, but poor in results. There can be little doubt that, keen man that he was, he imbibed a great deal of culture during his siege of Moorish cities and towns. Again a social product.

Suffice it to say that this man, through his insight into the needs of his people, made possible a revival of learning in the fields of literature, language, and even in science----a revival so glamorous that it is made brighter by the gloom that came before. It is necessary, however, to refrain from thinking that this man did all his work alone. Far from it. Despite the lightness of his purse, he always opened it to scholars, and they came from far and near to be his companions and teach either in the famous Palace School or in some other school patronized by him.

His mighty protecting hand also brought many to teach-----some came on invitation more or less compelling, and many, of their own free will. The ruler of the Franks was never out of place with any of his scholars. The amount of learning that he had gathered was unusual in his day and age-----and this despite the fact that he could not write, having started to learn too late in life!

At that, he drew up a collection of old German songs and legends which the Church later destroyed on the grounds that they were "heathen." At once a social product and process.

Wise as a statesman, he used education to further the cause of peace within his realm. He founded the Palace School to hold the sons of his rebel nobles as hostages. He read about and carried out the latest discoveries in manufacture, agriculture, and building. He saw that commercial possibilities of his kingdom were not neglected, as revenue was very scarce in his native land.

Despite the fact that he had the crown of the emperor placed upon his head by the Pope, he did not draw back from over-stepping and calling attention to the low standard of education set by the church. By direct order he commanded each monastery and cathedral to organize a school to which all men might go. From this rose the complete system of monastery and cathedral schools. Again we see him as the director of a social process.

Alcuin's Influence

Love of home drew Alcuin back to England at least once, and in 796 Charles permitted him to leave the court and entrusted him with the re-establishment of the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, and its schools. This position came after a rift with Charlemagne, but even fourteen years

later he could write to his patron:(38)

"I, your Flaccus,(39) in accordance with your exhortation and will, do my utmost in the buildings of St. Martin to provide some with the honey of Holy Scripture, to intoxicate others with the old wine of ancient studies, to feed others with the apples of grammatical subtlety, and to enlighten others with the marshalling of the stars---which suggest the work of a painter who seeks to beautify for some patron the vaulting of an edifice. Thus I am made many things to many men, that I may train up many to the advancement of Holy Church of God and to the adornment of your imperial reign, lest God's grace and your bounty be bestowed upon me in vain. In some measure, however, I your servant, lack the choicer books of scholarly erudition which I had in my own country through the devoted industry of my teacher(40), and even by my own slighter exertions. I say these things to your Excellency to the end that, if perchance it should please your intent so desirous of all wisdom, I may be permitted to send over some of our young men to obtain everything we need, and bring back into France the flowers of Britain. In this way not only will York be a garden enclosed, but Tours will have its outflowings of Paradise and its pleasant fruits, so that the south wind may come and blow upon the gardens of the L Loire, and the spices thereof may flow out..........

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(38) Cook, A.S., and Tinker, C.B.: Select Translations from Old English Prose. Boston, 1908. pp. 272-273. Ginn & Co.

(39) Members of Charlemagne's court took such names; Charlemagne was David; Alcuin, Horatius Flaccus; and Einhard, Calliopeus.

(40) Albert of York.

"As far as my moderate abilities will permit, I will not be slothful in sowing the seeds of wisdom among your servants (41) in these parts, being mindful of the sentence: 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withold not thy hand, for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.' In the morning, when my studies, because of my time of life, were flourishing, I sowed in Britain; now, as my blood grows chill in the evening of my days, I cease not to sow in France, hoping that both, by the grace of God, may spring up."

What was the condition of education in the land across the sea to which Alcuin cast a homesick eye? England had gone through a period of development similar to that of Charlemagne's empire. It was a king here, as well as on the mainland, who kept the lamp of education glowing in those bleak lands along the Danelaw.

Alfred's Influence

Alfred of the "burnt cakes" was the man. He took up the work of Bede and in the midst of royal labors set himself the task of placing before his people, or at least before his clergy, Anglo-Saxon versions of some of the then most highly regarded volumes of instruction. Gregory's "Pastoral Care"; his "Dialogues"; the "Histories of Orosius and Bede"

C (41) The brethren of St. Martin's,

and Boethius' "De conolatione philosophiae." It is Alfred's much quoted preface to Gregory's "Pastoral Care" in which he sets forth his reasons for undertaking its translation that we learn about the educational condition of England:(42)

"King Alfred biddeth greet Bishop Waeferth(43) with loving and friendly words, and let it be known to thee that it has come very often into my mind what wise men there formerly were both among the clergy and the laymen, and what happy times there were then throughout England; and how the kings who had to rule over the people in those days obeyed God and his ministers, and they kept peace, law, and order at home, and also spread their lands abroad; and how it was well with them both teaching and learning and all the services they owed to God, and how men from abroad sought wisdom and teaching in our lands, and how we must now get them from without if we would have them. So utterly had learning fallen away in England that there are very few on this side of the Humber who could understand their service-books in English, or even put a letter from Latin into English; and I think there were not many beyond the Humber. So few were of them that I cannot think of even one when I came to the throne. Thanks be to God Almighty that we have now any supply of teachers. And therefore, I bid thee do, as I believe thou are willing to do,---free thyself from the things of this world as thou canst that thou mayst put to work the wisdom that God has given thee wherever

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(42) Brooke, Stopford A.: English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest, London, 1898, pp. 221-222. Macmillan Company.

(43) A copy of this letter went to every bishop. The copy that went to Waeferth of Worcester is still extant in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

thou canst. Think what punishments have come upon us in the sight of the world when we neither loved wisdom ourselves, nor let other men have it. We only loved to have the name of Christian, and to have very few Christian virtues.

"When I remembered all this, I remembered also how I saw (before it was all harried and burnt) how the churches over all England stood filled with treasures and books, and also a great host of God's servants; and at that time they knew very little use for those books because they could not understand anything of them, for they were not written in their own language. It was as if they said: 'Our forefathers, who held these places before us, loved wisdom, and through it they got wealth and left it to us.' Here one can see still their footprints, but we cannot follow them because we have lost both the wealth and the wisdom, since we would not bend our heart to follow their spoor.

"When I remembered all this, then I wondered exceedingly about the good and wise men who were formerly throughout England, and who had fully learned the books----that they did not wish to turn any part of them into their own tongue. But I soon answered myself and said,'They did not look for it that men would ever be so careless, and that learning would so fall away. For this desire they left it alone."----wishing there should be more wisdom here in the land the more we knew of languages.

"Then I remembered how the Law was first given in Hebrew tongue, and again, how when the Greeks learned it, they turned it all into their own tongue, and also all other books.

And again, how the Romans did the same. When they had learned it, they turned all of it by wise translators into their own tongue. And also all other Christian peoples turned some part of the old books into their own tongue. Therefore it seemeth better to me, if it seemeth so to you, that we also turn some books----those which are the most needful for men to know----into the tongue which we can all understand, and that ye make means----as we very easily can do, with God's help, if we have stillness----that all the youth now in England of free men who have the wealth to be able to set themselves to it be put to learning while they are not of use for anything else, until the time they can read English writing; but those whom one wishes to teach further, and to forward to a higher place---let them afterwards be taught further in the Latin tongue.

"When I remembered how the knowledge of Latin tongue had before this fallen away throughout England, and yet that many could read English writing----then I began amidst other divers and manifold occupations of this kingdom to turn into English the book which in Latin is named Pastoralis, and in English Shepherd's Book; sometimes word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning, as I had learned it from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and from Grimald, my mass-priest, and from John, my mass-priest. When I had learned it so that I understood it, and so I could quite clearly give its meaning, I turned it into English. And to each bishopric in my Kingdom I will send one, and in each there shall be an 'aestal'(44) worth

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(44) A word of uncertain meaning.

fifty mancuses.(45) And I command in God's name, that no one take the 'aestal' from the book nor the book from the minister; it is unknown how long there may be such learned bishops, as now, God be thanked, are nearly everywhere. Therefore I would that they should be always kept in that place, except the bishop wish to have the book with him, or it be lent out anywhere, or anyone be making a copy of it."

Out of this social process came the vernacular that years later Chaucer was to make the common tongue of Englishmen. Surely if Alfred did nothing for education beyond this, he deserves mention as one of those who preceded the university and left his influence upon the years to come.

Let us return to the Carolingian court. The old masters such as Peter of Pisa, the grammarian, Paulus Diaconus, who like Alcuin sought to be free of Charlemagne, Theodulphus, an elegant Latin versifier, Einhart, secretary and biographer of the emperor, and lastly, one "Hibernicus Exul," a poet---- all had vanished in the days under attention.

The next generation (and for the most part pupils of the older men) were the immediate forerunners of the medieval university instructors. Among them were Abbot Smaragdus, grammarian and didactic writer; the German, Rabanus Maurus, Abbot of Fulda and, against his will, Archbishop of Mainz, and encyclopaedic excerpter and educator, "primus praeceptor Germaniae"; his pupil was Walafrid Strabo, the cleverest putter-together of the excerpt commentary, and a pleasing poet.

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(45) A gold coin worth the value of an ox.

In Lorraine flourished the Irishman Sedulius Scotus; and in the West open-mouthed students were listening to Servatus Lupus, Abbot of Ferrieres, and Agobard, Bishop of Lyons, a hard-headed gentleman with whom one can couple Claudius, Bishop of Turin. In passing, one mentions the theological controversialists Radbertus Paschasius and Ratrammus, Hincmar, and Gottschalk. All these men were scholars and were interested in the maintenance of elementary Latin education as well as in theology. To them goes much credit in the development of the university.

But it is necessary to leap across the years and fan the lamp of education into a more brilliant flame than the one by which we have been reading the book of history. We go to the days of well-established schools, to rich cathedrals and their schools, chantry schools, days of wealthy individuals with long purses who favored education----days of more commerce and, hence, days when the personalities of scholars became better known.

From now on the reader will have to adapt himself to moving from one country to another with a speed that rivals that of the magic carpet. It is almost impossible to trace the characters of the great teachers of these days without jumping ----so first I am going to take up the development of medicine through the lives of the great teachers of the subject.

Arabian Influence

Down in the seaport towns and cities of Spain the Arabs were building up a civilization far in advance of anything the world had ever seen. The young men of Europe seeking to

sit at the feet of the brilliant minds that taught at these schools went to live with the Moors and study the subjects they had to offer. At first the Church found no fault with this exodus, and we find churchmen as well as laity going to the land of the dons to study.

Among the churchmen who made the journey was Adelhard, that famed English monk who, despite much higher training in the Church, received much of value from those whom he termed the "heathen." It was in the first quarter of the twelfth century that he returned to his native land after studying in Cordova, and he took much of value with him. To him goes the honor of being the first English schoolmaster to use Arabic numerals and, in fact, so well had he learned the subject of mathematics while with the Moors that he wrote an "Euclid," which became so popular that we find it in general use in the Universities by the year 1300. Thus, the first well known text is in reality a social product.

He did not confine himself to mathematics, however, but spent a great deal of time on natural science, as the following quotation will show:(46)

> Nephew: "Let us, thereofre, now pass to the natures of various waters, in regard to which my first perplexity is why sea-water is bitter and salty?
>
> Adelard: "I regard the heat of the sun and the planets

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(46) Adelard of Bath, Quaestiones Naturales, Oxford, 1920. pp. 139-142. Translated by H. Gollancz. Clarendon Press.

> as the cause of the saltiness. The real ocean flows through the torrid and centre zone, and it is through the same zone, though indirectly, that the planets have their course; and, as a result of the great heat of the stars, the sea itself is necessarily heated, and consequently becomes salty."

It was Gerard of Cremona, a student at Cordova, who carried back to the schools of Italy the teaching of the Moors. The Church, already alarmed by previous returned students, started to put the lid down on studying away from the spires of the cathedrals. The old cathedral school where the followers of the Latin tradition still taught became the new University, the old monastery school being far too secluded to serve the people. Again we have a social product. But even in these holy schools the influence of the Moors was felt. The crusaders returned and, as has been stated, brought back an even greater desire for knowledge; and above all, Robert of Normandy had been healed of a wound received near Acre at a school called Salerno, which was said to teach the art of healing after the manner of the Arabs.

Rise of Salerno

Salerno had been famous as a medical school for some time. Although Christian in every sense of the word, it followed the practices of the Mohammedan physicians and got well under way by the leadership of one Constantine of Carthage, a converted Jew and a learned monk, who was the chief instructor.

Here was a modern school in many respects,---a true social process. Women were allowed to study, and even to teach, here, and we find one of the texts in use, "Diseases of Women," being written by Trotula, a charming miss who knew the arts of love as well as the art of medicine.

Out of Salerno came Montpellier in southern France, another school which drew much of its knowledge from the schools in Spain. I am going to speak about two of its instructors---Arnold of Villonova and Peter of Abano. There are no other two men who show so completely the radicalism of the teaching profession of the time in breaking away from conventional authority and seeking new answers to old questions, typically a social process. If the thirteenth century is supposed to be one of advancement and glory, much of its lustre is due to these two men who threw overboard tradition and taught their students to think for themselves.

Overthrow of Medical Tradition

By the overthrow of tradition I mean that these two men forgot the precepts of Galen and the dogma of Hippocrates, and with a cynical method of approach sought to lift medicine from the level of superstition. To be sure, they still held to the ethics set forth years before by Hippocrates (as does the medical profession today):(47)

"I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Hygeia,

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(47) Jones, W.S.: Hippocrates, Aphorismi, London, 1923, vol. i, pp. 299-301. Heineman, Ltd.

by Panacea and by all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgement, this oath and this indenture. To hold my teacher in this art equal to my parents; to make him a partner in my livelihood; when he is in need of money to share mine with him; to consider his family as my own brothers, and teach them this art if they want to learn it without fee or indenture; to impart precept, oral instruction, and all other instruction to my own sons, the sons of my teacher, and to the indentured pupils who have taken the physician's oath, but to nobody else. I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgement, but never with a view to injury and wrong doing. Neither will I administer a poison to anybody when asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a course.....But I will keep pure and holy both my life and my art. I will not use the knife, not even, verily, on sufferers from stone, but I will give place to those as are craftsmen therein. Into whatsoever houses I enter, I will enter to help the sick, and I will abstain from all intentional wrongdoing and harm, especially from abusing the bodies of man or woman, bond or free. And whatsoever I shall hear or see in the course of my profession, as well as outside my profession in my intercourse with men, if it be what should not be published abroad, I will never divulge, holding such things to be holy secrets. Now if I carry out this oath and break it not, may I gain forever reputation among all men for my life and for my art; but if I transgress it and forswear myself, may the opposite befall me."

Progress Slow

The two medicos we are discussing did not find it possible to throw over the teachings of these early masters at once. The question in their mind was what to throw over and what to keep. For a long time they puzzled over:(48)

"Old persons endure fasting more easily; next, adults; young people not nearly so well; and most especially infants, and of them such as are of a particularly lively spirit.

"Invalids bear food worst during summer and autumn; most easily in winter, and next in spring.

"Something must be conceeded to habit, to season, to age and to country."

There was only one way to see if the ancient writer had spoken and written well----that was by experiment! This was truly a social process. That was the lesson that these two men had learned while studying in the halls of the Arabs. So Arnold and Peter conducted experiments behind locked doors with only a few favored pupils present. They both suffered greatly when they announced that their investigations led them to believe in natural rather than in supernatural causes of disease. This grated on the ear of the Church, and when they carried their findings to the classroom a papal bull was issued-----a social product. This accused the two scientists of that middle age crime, alchemy:(49)

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(48) Hippocrates ibid.
(49) Walsh, J.J.: The Popes and Science, New York., 1908. pp.125-126 Fordham University Press.

"Alchemies are here prohibited and those that practice them or procure their being done are punished. They must forfiet to the public treasury for the benefit of the poor as much genuine gold and silver as they have manufactured of the false or adulterated metal. If they have not sufficient means for this, the penalty may be changed to another at the discretion of the judge, and they shall be considered criminals. If they are clerics they shall be deprived of any benefices that they hold and be declared incapable of holding others......

"Poor themselves, the alchemists promise riches, which are not forthcoming; wise also in their own conceit, they fall into the ditch which they themselves have digged. For there is no doubt that the professors of this art of alchemy make fun of each other because, conscious of their own ignorance, they are surprised at those who say anything of this kind about themselves; when the truth sought does not come to them they fix on a day (for their experiment) and exhaust all their arts; then they dissimulate (their failure) so that finally, though there is no such thing in nature, they pretend to make genuine gold and silver by a sophistic transmutation; to such an extent does their damned and damnable temerity go that they stamp upon the base metals the characters of public money for believing eyes, and it is only in this way that they deceive the ignorant populace as to the alchemic fire of their furnace."

Arnold's Discoveries

To return to Arnold----unable to withstand the constant interruptions of his lectures by those in temporal and ecclesiastical authority, he fled from the lecture hall, followed closely

by a papal officer with orders to hang him. Before the officer could overtake him, however, he was shipwrecked, and perished beneath the waves. The Mother Church expressed great pleasure at not having to hang him, but failed to take into consideration that the man had planted a seed among his students that was to grow and blossom into the flower of a true science.

This great teacher of medicine was one of our first chemists. To be sure, he sought the elixir of life, but in so doing, gave to his students the knowledge of the use of alcohol. This came about by his thinking that his fellow-doctors in Spain had in reality discovered the elixir when they made alcohol. At any rate, he used the new discovery as a stimulant and administered it in many cases----being the first doctor ever to prescribe whiskey in cases of illness. Is this a social process?

In a day when physical pain was counted as little, Arnold sought to mitigate the sufferings of his patients by means of an anaesthetic, so, as he told his students in a lecture, "One may be cut and feel nothing." His formula to achieve this end consisted of opium, mandagran, henbane and hemlock-----and few patients died!

Peter's Work

Peter, his fellow-teacher at Montpellier, also cheated the Papal authorities, as he died in a cell while they were making a pile of fagots for him outside the jail. He, too, before death did much to spread the knowledge of medicine. Peter, however, was more than merely a teacher of the art of healing. He was a man of strong religious ideas----even if they did not

jibe with those of the Church. For example, he denied the devil and told his students that a trance on the part of a patient was a good way to explain miracles like the raising of Lazarus.

Following this line of thought, he sought to reconcile physicians and philosophers in his work "Conciliator Differentiorum." While his pupils, in their caps and gowns, liked his presentation, the authorities sought to shut him up, and did so literally by casting him into jail. From his cell window he announced to his students that he had just made the discovery that air had weight!

He was released some time later, and he told his waiting pupils that during his confinement he had figured out that a year was 365 days, 6 hours, and 4 minutes long. This was a remarkably accurate approximation for that day and age. Compelled to stay out of the lecture room, he fled to Corbeil and later to Melvin, founding schools at both places. Again exile'made a social process.

No matter where he went he was admired by his students and feared by the authorities. He was the first to teach that the brain is the center of the nerves, and the heart the source of the vessels-----a discovery that proved of great use to Harvey three centuries later.

Frederick Learning's Patron

At Bologna, a school soon to become famous for its law courses, a young instructor by the name of Mondina was giving anatomy courses to a group of awe-stricken students. Dissection was just coming in, and Frederick the II had published an order allowing one body to be cut up every five years.

Surely this man was a social process and no product of his age. Perhaps a word or two about the treatment of physicians by "the first modern" would not be amiss:(50)

"While we are bent upon making regulations for the commonweal of our loyal subjects, we keep ever under observation the health of the individual. In consideration of the serious damage and the irreparable suffering which may occur as a consequence of the inexperience of the physicians, we decree that in future no one who claims the title of physician shall exercise the art of healing or dare to treat the ailing, except such as have beforehand, in our University of Salerno, passed a public examination under a regular teacher of medicine, and been given a certificate not only by the professor of medicine, but also by one of our civil officials, which declares his trustworthiness and sufficient knowledge. This document must be presented to us, or in our absence from the kingdom to the person who remains behind in our stead, and must be followed by the obtaining of a license to practice medicine either from us or from our representative aforesaid. Violation of this law is to be punished by confiscation of goods and a year in prison for all those who in future dare to practice medicine without such permission from our authority.

"Since students cannot be expected to learn medical science unless they have been previously grounded in logic(51), we further decree that not one be permitted to take up the

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(50) "The Earliest Modern Law for the Regulation of the Practice of Medicine." Journal of the Am. Medical Ass. vol. 1(1908) pp. 388-389.

(51) Logic at this time included a wide range of cultural studies.

study of medical science without beforehand having devoted at least three full years to the study of logic.

"After three years devoted to these studies, he may, if will, proceed to the study of medicine, provided always that during the prescribed time he devotes himself also to surgery, which is a part of medicine. After this, and not before, will he be given the license to practice, provided he has passed an examination in legal form as well as obtained a certificate from his teacher as to his studies in the preceeding time. After having spent five years in study, he shall not practice medicine until he has during a full year devoted himself to medical practise with the advice and under the direction of an experienced physician.

"Every physician given a license to practice must take an oath that he shall faithfully fulfill all the requirements of the law, and in addition whenever it comes to his knowledge that any apothecary has for sale drugs that are less than normal strength he shall report him to the court, and besides he shall give advice to the poor without asking for any compensation. A physician shall visit his patients at least twice a day, and at the wish of the patient at least once a night.........

"He must not enter any business relations with the apothecary, nor must he take any of them under his protection nor incur any money obligations in their regard. Nor must any licensed physician keep an apothecary's shop himself. Apothecaries must conduct their business with a certificate from a physician, according to the regulations and upon their own credit and responsibility, and they shall not be permitted to

sell their products without having taken an oath that all their drugs have been prepared in the prescribed form, without any fraud.

"We decree also that the growers of plants meant for medical purposes shall be bound by a solemn oath that they shall prepare medicines scientiously, according to the rules of their art."(52)

Under the friendly restrictions of Frederick, Guy of Chaulias, the "restorer of surgery," taught his pupils much about operations. Improving upon Arnold's method of putting patients to sleep, he did wonders with his knife. He invented the "cradle" for broken bones, and devised the system of pullies and weights by which a shortened limb is made longer. He was the first doctor to advocate the use of spectacles, and he helped further the study of optics. His operation for skull fracture has not yet been improved upon, and he also successfully removed a portion of the brain.

Influence of the Far East

In case my reader is apt to think of the great interest in science and medicine as confined to the Arabs of Spain, it will be well to look at their schools in the East at this time. There they had discovered that the earth was not a perfect sphere, experimented with chemicals and gunpowder.

From these far off universities came the teachers of the Spanish schools. These teachers had at once the Oriental wisdom and the Occidental spirit of inquiry. Outstanding was

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(52) A medieval Pure Drug Law.

Albategnuis, a master of astronomy who discovered an inequality in the motion of the moon. Cordova drew the pick of the mathematically inclined; Granada welcomed teachers from the East who had built great buildings; Toledo had an engineering school; and Salamanca prospered not only from the teachings of those who came from Arabia but from the helpfulness of a Christian king, one Alfonso of Castile.

Alfonso of Castile

Alfonso was the gentleman who gave his name to the Alfonsian tables. It was this student-prince who, while grinding away at the complications of the Ptolemaic cycles and epicycles, ventured to remark, "Had I been present at the time of the creation I could have suggested a much simpler and better plan for an universe."

It is interesting to note that despite the great stress placed by historians on the gift of science to the world by the Arabs, they made a still greater contribution. By means of these schools and universities they gave to the Western world the works of Aristotle, which visiting scholars read in Arabic and then took home and translated into Latin. It is an interesting sidelight on the times to find that the scholars of the period could read and write both Arabic and Hebrew but could not understand Greek. Frederick did his share in this translation of the Greek masters and put the "Almagest" of Ptolemy into Latin.

An outstanding Arab teacher of this time was Alhazen who wrote the first work on parallel optics. He recorded the phenomena of twilight and also figured the height of the atmosphere. As far as my research has carried me, I find him to be the first doctor to dissect eyes.

Geber of Seville

To Geber, a teacher at the College of Seville, goes the honor of being the first man to investigate acids. Up to his time there had been no stronger acid than acetic acid. By means of experiments that seemed to his pupils nothing more nor less than magic, he discovered sulphuric acid, nitric acid and nitro-muratic acid. He also showed his students the processes of sublimation and filtration, and his "gloss" shows some knowledge of a water bath and a chemical oven. One of his early discoveries was the difference in weight when an oxide was burned.

A sample of the scientific research of the time is seen in the activity of Abd-el-Litef of Salerno, who traveled to Egypt and examined the bones of 20,000 skeletons and reported that the jaw consisted of a single bone and not of two, as Galen had said years before. His assistant was a Jew, and everywhere Jewish doctors were in high repute, probably because Mohammed himself had a Christian as a physician and had sanctioned the welcoming of unbelievers into medicine. Such freedom is usual even in this age of the great social process of democracy.

A Typical Doctor

Salerno now required jurisprudence, theology, philosophy with the medical degree. In fact, a good doctor was supposed to be able to interchange his profession and preach as well as heal. Chaucer, although writing in a much later period, paints an exceedingly interesting picture of a doctor of physic:(53)

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(53) Skeat, W. W.: The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, London, 1907. pp. 20-21.

"A Doctor too of physic joined the rout;
None like him though we searched the world about,
That is, for physic or for surgery;
For he was grounded in astronomy.(54)
He watched his patient by the planets hours,
And natural magic lent him special powers.
When favoring planets in the ascendant rose,
His times auspicious for his patients chose.
He knew the cause of every malady,
Were it of hot or cold, or moist or dry,
Whence came it, of what humor(55) it might be;
An excellent practioner was he.
The cause perceived, and root of all the harm,
Annon his remedies the sick would charm.
Apothecaries would at once attend,
Electuaries and healing drugs to send;
For each of them brought other profit due;
Their friendship it appeared was nothing new.
Old Aesculapius his aid supplies,
And Dioscorides, and Rufus wise,
Hippocrates, Haly and Galien,
Serapion, Rhasis, and Avicen,
Averroes, Damascene, and Gilbertine,
Bernard, and Gatisden, and Constantine.
As to his diet, moderate was he,
For it comprised no superfluity,
But things digestible, for nourishment.

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(54) What we would call astrology.
(55) The four humors---hot, cold, wet, dry---disease came from excessive humor.

He little study on the Bible spent.
His robes were all of blue and scarlet bright,
With Taffeta well lined, and linen white.
And yet he never went to great expense,
But kept his earnings by the pestilence.
For gold a famous cordial supplies;
And therefore gold was precious in his eyes."

Peter, Pope and Scientist

Before we leave our survey of the teachers of medicine and science let us discuss an instructor of the year 1276. Peter Hispanus is his name and he became Pope despite his learning of Arab methods and practices. He specialized in medicine and no less than seventeen treaties on medical subjects have been attributed to him. Among these are his commentaries upon the works of Isaac. His comments take the place of a thousand or more questions which he takes up one after another, listing authorities pro and con in the scholastic manner and then giving his own conclusions. At once he is a product and a process. The following are some of his questions: (56)

> Can Natural death be retarded? Does the blood alone nourish us?
>
> Why is oil best at the top, honey at the bottom and wine in the middle of a cask?
>
> Why salt water fish do not have salt flesh?

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(56)Thorndike, Lynn. A history of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of Our Era, New York, 1923, vol. 11, pp. 504-507., Macmillan Company.

Should drink be taken with one's food?
Why have birds but two feet and no teeth?
Why the water in the sea does not grow less?
How can the animals that eat poison be food for men?

Having roughly traced the history of the teaching of medicine down to 1300, we will do a 'flashback' and trace the development of other subjects in Italy, France, Germany, and England first during the eleventh century, then through the later years.

It is impossible to stress how radically the conditions and the faculties of men differed in England, Germany, France and Italy during the eleventh century. Not only were their intellectual qualities different but different also was the measure of their attainment to a palpable medieval standard of character. There was no obliteration of race traits, yet the modification of the times tended constantly to evoke a general uniformity of intellectual interests and views.

Education in Italy

Let us take up Italy first:: always an urban country, the cities grew apace and with them learning became great. As in no other country the currents of antique education were so unbroken. Due to wars the private schools had declined, fewer pupils had money to pay, and so the emperors established municipal schools, a typically social product. The towns refused to pay the teachers who had to look to private pupils for support.

Grammar and law were always taught. Strange as it may seem, there were always schools taught by laymen for laymen. Instruction was given in matters profane and secular without regard to its utility for the saving of souls. The lower classes had no contempt for learning, not did the clergy fear letters as a spiritual peril. Gerbert. before 1000, had found Italy the field for the purchase of books, and in 1028 Wipo, a native of Burgundy and chaplain of the emperor Conrad, the second, contrasts the ignorance of Germany with Italy where "the entire youth is sent to sweat in the schools." In the twelth century Otto of Fresing suggests a like contrast between the Italy and the Germany of his day.

In short, antique education never stopped and was a continual social process until it became fixed by church control and became a social product.

Monte Cassino

We find instruction in poetry at this time as we read of Alphanus, a noble Salernian, lover of letters, pilgrim, archbishop of his native town and monk of Monte Cassino, the parent Benedictine monastery which had served as the retreat of Paulus Diaconus in the time of Charlemagne. It was at the school connected with this monastery the poetry was taught and it rose to fame under the rule of the German Richer(1038-1055). It was from this school that rationes dictandi, a much-used book on the art of composing letters was issued.

In fact, this school was of great importance as it caused an influx of Greek art to come into this closed circle. Abbot Alphanus had a faculty that made their school the home of theology and ecclesiastical policy. Here, too, law and medicine were taught, as well as "grammer" and classic literature. In short, they turned out combination monks and ascetics.

Many laymen studied Latin at this time and we find Gunzo of Norvara, who (according to his own story) was implored by Otto the Great to come to Germany. At any rate he condescended to cross the Alps with all his books. All went well on his journey until he stopped at the famous monatery of St. Gall to show off his knowledge to the monks. These holy men were quite proud of their learning and prepared to battle every argument with the visitor from the south. They were saved the trouble, however, as when the tired Gunzo trotted up to the door of St. Gall, half frozen from his long ride, a young monk while lifting him from the saddle heard him make a slip in grammar and made fun of him---because he had used an accusative when he should have used an ablative ! Who says the middle age mind was without a sense of humor even though it was a product of its time.

Benedict, Prior of the Abbey of St. Michael of Chiusa, a man born to wealth and position, was another great teacher of this era. So great was his pride in his teaching and learning that some unkown writer has written a satire on him poking fun at his ponderous methods.

"I have two houses full of books; there is no book on earth I do not possess. I study them every day. I can discourse on letters. Lombardy where I learned most is the cradle of knowledge."----He sounds like a young instructor !

Anselm the Peripatetic

Would there were time to treat fully of Anselm the Peripatetic, whose dream of being in heaven and covered with kisses by saintly souls so influenced his life. For in the same dream appeared three maids of another sort who scathingly reproved him for leaving them----they were Dialectic, Rhetoric, and Grammar. Of course our hero gave up the kisses of the heavenly virgins and departed with the early three in a true humanistic manner. If a dream can be a social process--here is such a one!

At first Anselm had some difficulty in making up his mind as to what course to follow---hermit, pilgrim or teacher. He chose the last course, and under the aid of Lafranc(himself a teacher of note) became prior of St. Stephens at Gaen. Considerate of the younger monks, he gave them daily lecture. In fact so well did he ingrain himself into their affections that when the old Founder of Bec, Alcuin died, the brothers elected him Abbot with one voice.

Here is the first medieval teacher to draw the love of his pupils. He realized that he could do more good by moving about, so in company with another monk he wandered over Western Europe spreading the words of the leture hall. Despite these wanderings, he wrote many books for his students to ponder over.

He wrote on theological and philosophic subjects because he felt the 11th century mind needed readjustment of certain problems.

Anselm is a strange combination when viewed from the standpoint of his writing. His Monologion presents the dry and formal method of reasoning which was to make its chief home in France other works like Proslogion are truly Italian in their buoyant emontionalism. His style is Italian-- elastic and even idiomatic. He is at once a product of, and an influence on, his times.

For the benefit of his students he takes up one problem after another and sets forth the whys and wherefores---he is devout, an idealising reasoner and wonderfully metaphysical. His inspiration is to understand that which he first believes. He does not seek to understand in order to believe: (57)

"I make no attempt, Lord, to penetrate thy depths, for my intellect has no such reach; but I desire to understand some measure of thy truth, which my heart believes and loves. I do not seek to know in order that I may believe; but I believe that I may know. For I believe this also, that unless I shall have believed, I shall not understand."

Again----" -----so that even if I could by no reason comprehend what I believe, there is nothing that could pluck me from it, I ask from thee, as many ask, that thou set forth to me, as thou knowest it, by what necessity and reason, God, being omnipotent, should have assumed the humility and weakness of human nature for its restoration." (58)

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(57) Miss Ethel Klein translated this section for me.
(58) De Wulf's translation of Cur Deus Homo.

"This proves that he is first a believer and then a theologian. He was already at the time of his writings rated as one of the firmest defenders of the faith. An example of this is shown in the story of his verbal fight with Gaunilo, a monk. It appears that this monk stated that from a definition one may not infer the existence of the thing defined. Anselm answered him by stating that the argument applied only to the greatest conceivable being. Here was a dialectic jump---and because he could jump so well and far, students thronged to hear his lectures.

Peter Damiani

Before we leave the 11th century it would be well to say a few words about Peter Damiani. Educated at Parma, he became the most proficient student of the Seven Liberal Arts of his time and soon started to teach. His pupils were so numerous and his fees so large that he amassed considerable wealth, so he decided upon a change of life. He now turned from religious to secular studies. He turned completely about and became one of the first great hermits. But fate was against him and he was called once more to the classroom. This time he went to Milan and after saving sundry souls from hell he became a wandering teacher and passed from community to community teaching all who wore the cap and gown.

Let us leave Italy and cross the Alps into France of the 11th century.

Topics of study were the same in the France of this period as they were in the days of the Carolingians. Yet the approach was different, and the teachers of the time developed a genius of their own rather than borrow the style of those who went before. This is a true social process.

Gerbert

Gerbert of Aurillac is the man with whom this period opens in France. At once the reader of his life is struck by the apparent crudity of his intellect. He studied grammar under Raymund, a monk, and grew to love the classics. When a duke of the Spanish March visited the convent of Aurillac, the brothers asked the visitor to take the student with him so that he might get in Spain such education as the convent did not afford.

Willing to be classed as a patron of learning, the duke took Gerbert with him and placed him in school at Barcelona. This patronage, a social product, caused a social process. Here, in contact with the Arabs, he learned much mathematics and did so well that the duke and his bishop took their pupil with them when they went to Rome to pray. Proud of their young scholar, they introduced him to the Pope, who was impressed by the youngster's learning. So the lad remained in Rome teaching mathematics when his two benefactors returned home. But the desire for greater knowledge seized him, and despite the smiling influence of the Pope, he went

to Rheims to study Logic. So well did he do that he was admitted to the faculty by Adalberon, the archbishop, and taught the whole range of academic knowledge for ten years.

He then went to Bobbio to teach, but his patron Otto died, and this, coupled with the fact that Bobbio was ruled over by a count-abbot, proved too much for Gerbert. He struggled, and wrote many letters which have come down to us:(59)

"According to the largeness of my mind, my lord, Otto II, has enriched me with the most ample honors. For what part of Italy does not hold the possessions of the blessed Columbanus (where Bobbio was)? So should this be, from the generosity and benevolence of our Caesar. Fortune indeed, ordains it otherwise. Forsooth according to the largeness of my mind she has loaded me with most ample store of enemies. For what part of Italy has not my enemies? My strength is unequal to the strength of Italy! There is peace of this condition: if I, despoiled, submit, they cease to strike; intractable in my vested rights, they attack with the sword. When they do not strike with the sword, they thrust with the javelins of words."

The struggle at Bobbio was given up and the teacher went back to Rheims to become leader of the school. The times were bad, and the Carolingian house was tumbling. As

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(59) Williams, A. A.: Life of Gerbert. University Press. p. 18. 1906.

adviser to Adalberon, archbishop to the child prince Otto III Gerbert was the first teacher to play a real part in politics. So zealous was he for the "German baby" that he in turn was made archbishop on the death of his master. Another social product.

But Rome, once content to smile on the learning of a boy, howled at the promotion of the man. Too often had Gerbert stressed the lack of knowledge among the bishops of the very council that had elected him and deposed his predecessor. But a journey to Rome with the young prince; the friendly aid of the archbishop of Ravenna; and the timely death of the Pope, Gregory V, smoothed over the trouble, and the world awoke to find a school-teacher, Pope Sylvester II.

For three years a dreamer, made an imperialist, ruled and planned for a great united Empire and Papacy. But death took his friend and willing follower Otto, and then the Pope-philosopher died. In closing, it is well to remember that Gerbert was the best mind of his time, its greatest teacher, and beyond all doubt, its most eager learner----a most wonderful scholar. One reads his letters and is impressed not only with his powerful knowledge, but with the man's ability to profit from the spirit and writings of the past and to transform them into something new for the good of his students. Thus we see him as a social process.

He was always (in later years) dangerously deep in politics, and instructed his pupils well in the art of intrigue. Again we find a social product. So great was his

political power that great men came to his feet to sit and learn. He was the guiding force at the courts of the second and third Ottos, who loved a teacher more than the pleasures of the chase or chamber; the great school of Chartres, under the leadership of his pupil Fulbert was the direct heir to his method of instruction. His ability to teach was felt in the fields of mathematics, in which he improved the current methods of computation; in astronomy, in which he made spheres; and in music.

Perhaps the outstanding event of his life was the famous debate with Otric of Magdeburg before Emperor Otto the Second at the court at Ravenna. To be sure, there was no originality in the propositions stated by the contestants. Yet the whole question and the nature of the statements advanced show that at this early stage grammar was not simply a means, but an end in the study of letters, and so was logic, though unconsciously. "In the one case and the other, the palpable need of discipline and its difficulties kept the student from realizing that the instrument was but an instrument."

Religious reforms had started to do their work, and we find Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, using the works of the Mother Church as the sole instrument of instruction. He did little of value beyond making his students realize the true influence of ethics, and exhorted them to use better language in their prayers. He is merely a social product.

Fulbert

We have spoken of Fulbert, the pupil of Gerbert, and later Bishop of Chartres. His name is joined forever with the cathedral school of that town, which he established so firmly as to receive credit later for founding the institution. It is necessary to recall that Chartres had been a town of letters since Roman days when one wishes to fully weigh the honor conferred upon this monk.

From far and near students came to study under this great man. Their's was an intimate intercourse with the "Venerable Socrates" who headed the school. From the published accounts of the man, we can see him moving about among his pupils, stopping to correct one here, or helping to settle an argument between two of them in this corner. As always among students, there were bickerings, fights, rivalry, and breaches of rules-----but this master had time to meet each offender and talk the matter over with him. We can truthfully say that here was the first dean of men----a sympathetic soul with an understanding of youth----a true social process.

Several of these scholars among whom he moved so peacefully later became men of fame on their own account. There was Berengar of Tours, who wrote a fellow student the following letter about their old school days together:(60)

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(60) Peate, R.O.: Medieval Scholars, pp. 89-90. Yale University Press, 1903.

"I have called thee foster-brother because of that sweetest common life led by us while youths in the Academy of Chartres under our Venerable Socrates. Well we proved his saving doctrine and holy living, and now that he is with God we should hope to be aided by his prayers. Surely he is mindful of us, cherishing us even more than when he moved a pilgrim in the body of this death, and drew us to him by vows and tacit prayer, entreating us in those evening colloquies in the garden by the chapel that we should tread the royal way, and cleave to the footprints of the holy fathers."

From this letter we get a fine picture of a great teacher. No words of any thesis writer could show the man as well as this letter does. Let us leave him now, his character painted by one of his pupils.

Under Fulbert, the Trivium and the Quadrivium had been expanded. Text-books and regular courses were employed as a matter of course. His whole period of leadership at Chartres forms the definite molding of the university.

His Pupils

Two of the outstanding pupils of this school, Berengar and Roscellinus, were to become great teachers on their own account. Both were thinkers and both great teachers and students.

Berengar, as we gather from reports of his fellow students, who later became his opponents, had a great deal of

ability, a great deal of knowledge and a great deal of pride. He was prone to take only his own opinion, and even threw aside the teachings of men like Priscian, Donatus, and Boethius. His favorite sentence was, "Why err if everybody errs?" He is a true member of that thinking group that made for social process. Of a combative temperament, he took issue with the accepted status of things, not through clear thinking, but through the desire for fame. He left small lasting impression upon his pupils and was forced by one council after another to recant, and did so rather than flee or die for his statements.

Roscellinus talked a great deal about general ideas of what was soon to be known as universals. His views, while rather shady and misty in the gloom of the past, have tended to give him the title "Father of Nominalism." At any rate, he had a part in the development of scholasticism-----at a time when intellectual development in France was at a very low ebb. Thus we have another social process.

Every nation goes through a period in its history when it seems that little or nothing is accomplished. Such a period was the eleventh century in France. The twelfth century was to open up a blaze of educational glory, and an era of intellectual advancement was brilliant. But the grounds of this awakening were laid in the eleventh century, even though the results in the teaching profession were not shown until later.

Church Reforms

The Church started her housecleaning at this time, and we find simony, lay investiture, and concubinage going out. The Church also passes from prelacy to papacy, and the Pope ceases to be the nominal head of an episcopal aristocracy, becoming a true monarch. Politics were moving forward as well, Louis the Sixth was centralizing his government, feudalism was beginning to see the struggle of the serfs. Economic progress was coming in. Social forces were being felt.

Thus, if we can point to no great teachers in France during this period, we can at least show the tendencies of the coming times. It was an age of transition for France rather than a time for learning. What came out of these growing pains we will discover later on in this paper.

German Education

To Germany our study now carries us.

Our first impression on looking at Germany in this period, is that of seeing a self-conscious people stamping an alien culture with their racial characteristics. Latin culture was to them always a foreign matter, and despite the fact that they learned it, they always considered it in the light of a duty-----something they should learn. To begin with, they were not a Romance people, they had never spoken Latin, they had no spiritual or other kinship with the antique past. They were the social product of a heritage older than Rome itself.

We can sum the matter up by saying that learning in Germany at this time was an appropriation of Latin into German. The new tongue (to the Germans) became merely a means of enlarging a racial genius. While these hardy people were converted to Christianity and made it a part and parcel of their lives, they merely took and used the antique learning to better themselves. That is, they did so as far as it is possible to separate these two great factors of the middle ages.

There is no time in this thesis to tell about the early teachers in Germany who were the ones who brought antique learning into these lands. In passing, we may list Boniface, the Anglo-Saxon who brought the word of Christ to the Germans. It was that great scholar Rabanus Maurus who stressed both secular and religious learning. It is interesting to note that despite this man's great love for the old writings he encouraged preaching in German, and prepared German glosses for his students.

It is in the last part of the tenth and the early part of the eleventh centuries that we see the work of translators at their best. There was Notker the German, a monk of St. Gall and a member of that great group of German Abbots. He was an encyclopedia of the learning of his time, and was the true head of the teachers of his time. He taught German rather than Latin, rendering the classics into his mother tongue, and made them familiar in the cloisters of Fulda, St. Gall, Reichenau, Hersfeld, and elsewhere, thus making a social process.

Bruno, Patron of Learning

Patrons came into being at this time. Chief among them was Bruno, the youngest brother of Otto the First. Like Charles the Great, he gathered teachers of note about him and we find living in his home men like Liutprand and Ratherius. A passage in his Life by Ruotger shows the accomplishments of this prince and teacher:(61)

"Then, as soon as he had learned the first rudiments of the grammatic art, as we have heard from himself, often pondering upon this to the glory of the omnipotent God he began to read the poet Prudentius, at the instance of his master. This poet, as he is catholic in faith and argument, eminent for eloquence and truth, and most elegant in the variety of his words and meters, with so great sweetness quickly pleased the palate of his heart, that at once, with greater avidity than can be expressed, he drank up not only the knowledge of the outer word, but even the marrow of the innermost meaning and purest nectar, if I may so say. Afterwards there was no branch of liberal study in all Greek and Latin eloquence that escaped the quickness of his genius. Nor indeed, as often happens, did the multitude of riches, or the insistency of clamouring crowds, nor any disgust otherwise coming over him, ever turn his mind from this noble employment of leisure.. ......Often he seated himself as a learned arbiter in the

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(61) Ruotger, W.: Life of Bruno, p. 38. Phillips Press. 1897.

midst of the most learned Greek and Latin doctors, when they argued on the sublimity of philosophy or upon the subtility of any discipline flourishing within her, and gave satisfaction to the disputants amid universal plaudits, than which he cared for nothing less."

Hrotsvitha

One of the first literary phenomena appears at this period. She was a nun, Hrotsvitha, who was an authoress of note. Like many men of her time she realized the power of a friendly king, so wrote in Latin a long book entitled "The Deeds of Otto the First." She also wrote six moral dramas in Latin after the style of Terence----all dealing with moral virgins who shunned the lust of mortal flesh and flaunted their high standards in the faces of low minded men. While of no value to the schools of the time, her works show the tendency of the educated classes to write (even at this early date) in imitation of the great writers of the ancient world. In short, she was a typical social product.

Hildesheim became a school of learning at this time, due to its great bishops. Otwin, chief among its early founders, had supplied the school with books in the days of of its founding. After him came Bernward, who gave up a career at court to instruct the young.

Historians tell us that this princely scholar was a fine Latin student, spending years translating the divines

and philosophers. He invited builders of note to come to his city and make it fair. Despite all this activity, it appears that the man was consciously dealing with an art he himself thought of as alien. Artist, scholars, painters, and poets thronged to his patronage, and Hidesheim rose to a cultural peak that was the highest in Germany.

Other Teachers

Godehard followed as the chief teacher of the university, and being a German to his fingertips, continued the study of the classics----in German. Throughout his period, one gets the idea of great diligence being applied to learning----the staid German mind trying to grasp something that later they would be anxious to throw off. Some of the wearers of the cowl rose to the mastery of Latin diction, it is true, but the whole classic movement was an expression of Germanism. Here we have a social process that tried hard to be a social product.

The most interesting figure of the day was the lame teacher Hermann Contractus. As weak as his body was, so strong was his mind. Banished from his father's court, he lived most of his life in a convent and soon attracted pupils from far and wide. But even this wonderful teacher could not teach Latin in any manner other than the heavy-footed manner of his fellows. They all sweated and strained to learn the Quadrivium and the Trivium. With little or no local culture, they could be nothing else but translators of alien tongues.

This continued for some few years until in the later thirteen hundreds they put to use this early training in translation and gave the Provencal literatures to the world.

Othleh was the outstanding teacher of the era from the standpoint of struggle with self and church. His problem in life was to seek the answer to the riddle: Can the Bible be true and God omnipotent when sin and misery abound? From this question came his writing, and from his writings came his great teaching. Here is a social product that was a social process.

Educated in the monastic schools of Tegernsee and Hersfeld, he very soon gave evidence of great scholarship. He shunned the reading of the profane books after a "visionary flogging" and devoted himself to copying and decorating manuscripts of church works. In fact, these visions not only hurt the man physically and mentally, but gave his poor students cause for much fear. He would tell them that he had been saved by God from terrible sin and as a sign of thanks must write of the glory of the Most High. So we may class him as a social product. When rational, his "glosses" on canon law were remarkable.

English Teachers

Our survey of the eleventh century now carries us to England.

The island, which was in a few years to strip all its rivals in the field of education, was at this time very low

in intellectual interest. England had nothing to offer. Canute's rule of iron had brought peace to the land and, in a way, had mended the breach between Dane and Saxon. Just when letters came in the Normans came in, and the rough war days that followed did not make for letters.

Dunstan

Dunstan is the one name that we remember in this period, and this sole teacher did his best to keep the monks at their work of instructing the young. In these days the Scripture was being put into Saxon, so here, as in Germany, the education of the period was forced to be translated. This is another instance of social product and process. But the Norman invaders had brought a Gallic civilization with them, and the hardy sons of Merrie England found the tongue of their fathers falling away and Court and council speaking French------another social product.

With the introduction of Gallic speech the English idiomatic speech became filled with foreign elements, and the schools made little attempt to hold on to the old order of affairs. Old traits were being remodeled to meet new situations----people were more worried about living than they were about learning. The period of racial transition was not one that aided the art of letters. Yet we must class it as a time of social process.

The intellectual genius of the English was not to express itself until some years later-----years of peaceful

development and commerce. The years of war and unrest sapped the vitality of the strong men of strife, to say nothing of wearing out the minds of the men of letters. But at that, in the years to come English teaching was still to be on the subject matter borrowed from the surrounding lands. To be sure, the method of instruction would be English to the core, but the learning would be the world's. Again we have a combination of social product and social process.

Thus we have traced the spread of learning during the eleventh century. We have seen that men's minds and manners differed in the various lands of Europe. On top of the racial stock the times had placed something that was universal------ Latin learning. To be sure, this veneer was thicker in some places than in others, but there was always a constant movement toward a complete intellectual interest, which was the product of its time.

Changing Trends

The whole trend of the times changes with the passing of the century we have just considered. In northern Italy in particular we now see the rise of the cities. Always an urban civilization, trade with the Levant brought wealth to the ancient land of the Roman. Thus the interests of the land became more and more secular, even though the emotional nature of the race welled up within many breasts and gave Anselm, Peter Lombard, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas to the world. But it is a moot point if any of these men remained totally Italian. While social products, these men did much to make for social process.

In France, on the other hand, things were different. The Latin spirit was lacking, nor was the urban spirit present. The days of the rise of Paris as an intellectual center were yet to come. The seed, which in later days was to burst forth and blossom as the University of Paris, is merely planted during this time. Even at this early stage one can trace the difference between the Frank of the South and the Frank of the North.

In short, there was complete antipathy between that portion of the land where gay singers of songs and irreligious men played through life and that part of the country where philosophy, theology, architecture, crusades and brothels held sway. Both sections were social products.

England had not yet become herself------in the retort of development, the elements in her makeup were boiling and seething, with the finished product a far distant goal. Germany was still living her own life, knowledge had been made part and parcel of the people's temperament, and was studied -----in a German manner. The true development of the Low Lands was to come in another era.

It is necessary to mark time here for a few paragraphs and again explain the developments arising in Europe during the early days of the twelfth century. First in importance were the crusades; that series of "holy" and "religious" movements which soon became attempts to colonize and conquer. Out of this came trade, and hence we may safely say that they

represent that rising commercial interest of Europe. Through the contacts with the Arab, new fields of study were suggested, goods were exchanged, and, above all, literature was inspired.

Coupled with this movement of expansion, came a trend among the hand-workers to unite, and from this comes our guilds. The harsh taxes and oppression of the feudal lords made the binding together in industrial association a necessity. From this movement came the zealous attempt of the master workmen to secure charters of freedom for their cities and, finally, for their states.

In Italy the situation was different, as the land had always fostered free cities and the trade of the times served merely to increase the spirit of guild freedom. It is true that some towns (i.e. Florence) did not become communes until the twelfth century, but on the whole Italy's system of free towns and powerful guilds was in a class by itself.

Added to this increase of freedom on the part of the towns was an increase in the activity of the monasteries. The trend of the time was toward something higher spiritually, and we see an increase in the number of people retiring to convents and cloisters, as well as an era of monastic reform. To be sure, for several hundred years there had been a movement on foot to reorganize the monks along lines that would be more pleasing to God.

Clunic Reform

The first of these reforms that is worth noting is that of Cluny. Under great abbots this cloister had risen to great power. Many subordinate institutions throughout France and other countries looked upon this Burgundian monastery as their titular head. Founded by a layman for the good of his soul, and hence, a social product, it later threw over secular interests entirely. The original charter of this great institution makes interesting reading: (62)

"To all thinkers it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit lasting rewards.........I, William, count and duke by the grace of God, diligently pondering this, and desiring to provide for my own safety, while I am still able, have considered it advisable---nay, almost necessary, that, from the temporal goods which have been conferred upon me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul. I do this, indeed, in order that I who have thus increased in wealth may not, perchance, at the least be accused of having spent all in caring for my body, but rather may rejoice, when fate at last shall snatch all things away, in having reserved something for myself. Which end, indeed seems attainable by no more suitable means than that, following the

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(62) Henderson, E.F.: Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages. G, Bell & Sons, London, 1896. pp. 329-331.

precept of Christ: 'I will make his poor my friends,' and making the act not a temporary but a lasting one, I should support at my own expense a congregation of monks. And this is my trust, this is my hope, indeed, that although I myself am unable to despise all things, nevertheless, by receiving despisers of the world, whom I believe to be righteous, I may receive the reward of the righteous.

"Therefore be it known to all who live in the unity of the faith and who await the mercy of Christ, and to those who shall succeed them and who shall continue to exist until the end of the world, that, for the love of God and of our Savior Jesus Christ, I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter, namely, and Paul, the possessions over which now I hold sway----the town of Cluny, namely, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honor of St. Mary, the mother of God and of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, together with all the things pertaining to it, the vills, indeed, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the medows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, all in their entirety. Which things are situated on or about the country of Macon, each one surrounded by its own bounds. I give, moreover, all these things to the aforesaid apostles----I, William and my wife Ingelberga-----first of the love of God; then for the souls of my lord king Odo, of my father and my mother; for my wife and myself----

for the salvation namely of our souls and bodies;----and not least for that of Ava who left these things for me in her will; for the souls also of our brothers and sisters and nephews, and of all our relatives of both sexes; for our faithful ones who adhere to our service; for the advancement, also and integrity of the Catholic religion. Finally, since all of us Christians are held together by one bond of love and faith, let this donation be for all,-----for the orthodox, namely of the past, present and future times. I give these things, moreover, with this understanding, that in Cluny a regular monastery shall be constructed in honor of the holy apostles of Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the rule of St. Benedict, and that they shall possess, hold, have and order these same things unto all time."

Secure in its holdings and charter rights, Cluny had increased in wealth and, thanks to popes and kings, had also increased in temporal power. In church policy it stood for decency and hesitated to side with either pope or king. This is a true social process. When we speak of the great reforms of Cluny we do not mean to imply a sudden upheaval of old customs and a new set of rules being put into power. Rather, we wish to express that movement that sought to throw out the secularization of the Church and purge the clergy (monks and secular) of their sins of living. By this I mean the sins of simony, clerical concubinage, corruptions of nuns and other evils.

Other Reforms

Time does not permit the details of the reforms of the Englishman Stephen Harding, who led the change among the Cistercian

Order. Then too, this is a period of men going away to still places and living holy lives-----while their co-religionists could be drafted at any time by a militant church, these hermits with their quietism thought and dreamt of the faith. From these hermits the century to follow was to get a great many ideas. Of course, the recluse thought he was on his way to sainthood, but at that, men like Loricatus Dominicus, Bruno of Cologne and Guigo all had felt the touch of flesh long before they felt the itch of the hair shirt.

Among those who led the monastery reformation was Bernard whose great teaching ability influenced the entire area of Western Europe through the medium of the sixty-five bands of teachers he sent out to instruct the young. The legends tell us that this man was so great a teacher that at twenty he had formed a band of monks out of his own brothers who sat at his feet and listened to his teachings. This ability to compel people to listen was increased inlater years, and he became a political power. It was his judgment that decided the claims of the rival popes Innocent the Second and Anacletus in 1130. But the great influence of the man was upon the young of his day, his letters show his love for mankind, he writes to their parents, to their sweethearts whom they give up for Christ------in short, he is human, then pedantic.

Bernard was not entirely wrapped up in his school work. He wrote a long book on the four stages of love and also copied many valuable works of former masters. Perhaps one of his outstanding activities was that of acting as a "pep" speaker. His talks and

thoughts were so lofty and lifted his listeners so far out of their mundane lives that he was called upon again and again to talk to various groups. Here he is in the role of a social process. One of his best friends was Hugo de Paganis, the first Grand Master of the Knights Templars, who, when asked to write a message of cheer for the "boys who were going over against the infidels," wrote:(63)

"You always run a risk, you worldly soldier, of either killing your adversary's body, and your own soul in consequence, or of being killed yourself, both body and soul. If, while wishing to kill another, you are killed yourself, you die a homicide. But what an astounding error, what madness it is, O knights, to fight at such cost and trouble for no wages except those of death or sin! You deck out your horses with silken trappings; you wear flaunting cloaks over your steel breastplates; you paint your shields, your spears, and your saddles; your spurs and your bridles shine with gold and silver and gems and in this gay pomp, with an amazing and incredible madness, you rush upon death. Have you not found from experience that these things are especially needed by a soldier, viz. that he be bold, yet vigilant, as regards his own safety, quick in his movements, and prompt to strike? You, on the contrary, cultivate long hair, which gets in your eyes; your feet are entangled in the folds of your flowing robes; your delicate hands are buried in the folds of your ample and spreading sleeves. In addition to all this, your reasons for fighting are light and frivolous, viz. the impulses of an irrational anger, or a desire of vain glory, or the wish to obtain

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(63) Morrison, J.C.: The Life and Times of St. Bernard, pp. 142-143. Macmillan and Company, 1868.

some earthly possession. Certainly, for such causes as these it is not safe to slay or be slain.

"But Christ's soldiers can fight in safety the battles of their Lord; fearing no sin from killing an enemy; dreading no danger from their own death. Seeing that for Christ's sake death must be suffered or inflicted, it brings with it no sin, but rather earns much glory. In the one case Christ is benefited, in the other Christ is gained----Christ, who willingly accepts an enemy's death for revenge and, more willingly still, grants Himself to the soldier for consolation. Christ's soldier can securely kill, can more securely die; when he dies it profits him; when he slays he profits Christ. Not without just cause is he girdled with a sword. When he kills a malefactor, he is not a slayer of men, but a slayer of evil, and plainly an avenger of Christ against those who do amiss. But when he is killed, he has not perished, he has reached his goal. The Christian exults in the death of a pagan, because Christ is glorified. In the death of a Christian the King's bountifulness is shown, when the soldier is led forth to his reward. The just will rejoice over the first, when he sees the punishment of the wicked. Of the latter men will say, 'Verily there is a reward for the righteous; doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth.'"

St. Francis

About thirty years following the death of Bernard there was born in the Umbrian hill town of Assisi a medieval saint we know as St. Francis. The year was 1182, a time when a young man would be educated in a turmoil of new and old ideals. Both social products and social processes are evident. But for a simple mind Francis might have been a great speaker. Instead he paid no attention to

the condition of his era. Francis was medieval to his finger tips, and in tracing his teaching we find him an interesting mixture of color, light, drabness and shadow, a true product of his times.

Little can be said about him, except that he is the one man of the period whose personality can never be confused with any other person's---his gentle love marks itself upon its time in a manner that cannot wear off. In passing, it is well to remember that the man left some works behind in another language than Latin. He wrote his "lauds" in the Umbrian dialect.

Abelard

No twelfth century lecturer more deserves the honor of being the first to be mentioned than Abelard, the lover, the dreamer, the rationalist and the great teacher. No story of chivalric love chanted by the Templars as they rode toward Acre is more passionate. The legendary tales of Tristan and Iseult and Lancelot and Guinevere both fade in comparison.

It is strange that a man who at thirty was the outstanding teacher of his time should be remembered not for his writings alone, but for his love making. The eldest son of a noble Brittany family, Abelard, by all the rules of the time, should have gone to war. Instead, a dreamer by nature, he gave up his feudal rights, donned the cap and gown and chose the life of a scholar-----thus exchanging the field of Mars for the courts of debate. In this he was a social product of the Church's influence.

To Paris, the home of learning, he turned his footsteps, and attended the cathedral school of Notre Dame where his brilliant mind and subtlety soon earned for him the never-dying hatred of in-

structors, who could not cope with him. Soon he, too, set up as a lecturer, and thousands of students flocked to hear his lectures. Out of this came the University of Paris, for, in order to promote the free discussions of scholastic questions raised by this man, more masters were brought to accommodate the throngs of students.

The interest of Abelard in instructing his pupils so that all their questions might be answered is shown in his own statement of a teacher he went to Bec to hear: "So I came to this old man, whose repute was a tradition, rather than merited by talent or learning. Any one who brought his uncertainties to him went away more uncertain still! He was a marvel in the eyes of his hearers, but a nobody before a questioner. He had a wonderful word overflow, but the sense was contemptible and the reasoning abject."(64) With so strong a dislike for his master it is small wonder that the man was asked to take his followers elsewhere and let the "old man" lecture in peace. His questioning of professional authority marks him as a social process.

So many men flocked to his lecture halls that an old writer has set down the following line about his school: "It is the mill where the world's corn is ground and the hearth where its bread is baked."(65) Just when he was rising in power, he had a brush with the authorities and was forced to retire for some little time. Always a bold teacher, he could not stay away from the lecture room, and he founded schools at Melvin and Corbeil during his enforced exile.

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(64) Quotation suggested by Prof. J.B. Scammell, B. U., C. B. A.
(65) Mitler, I.: Life of Abelard, p. 163. Heywood Press, 1885.

No matter where he went the boldness of his statements attracted attention, and, while his students followed him and drank in every word he said, the authorities looked upon him as a dangerous man.

Feeling that he could accomplish little while the higher-ups looked upon him in this light, he returned to Paris fully resolved to propitiate those he had offended. Just as this rational thought hit him he fell sick and went home to recover his health. But he was not to mend in silence. A horde of his students followed him and awaited his recovery outside his ancestral estate, sending him questions to be answered daily.

Then came the return to Paris. Again the rabble of be-gowned students followed, and after he had patched up his quarrels with his foes, another teaching berth was given him and he continued to lecture. At this time his classes were attended by such men as the future Pope Cestine, Peter Lombard, Berengar, his future apologist, and Arnold of Bressia.

Just as he was sailing smoothly along the sea of education, an influence came into his sphere which changed the complexion of things entirely. Her name was Heloise----eighteen she was, pretty, educated and passionate. The natural daughter of a church divine, she had something of religion and brothel about her at once. Delegated to instruct her, the young teacher showed her the arts of love, their affections soared to the zenith and they fled together to Abelard's sister's house where the maid gave birth to a son. The couple were secretly married, although later the bride denied the ceremony so as not to stand in the way of her lover's advancement in the Church.

Her uncle, the canon Fulbert, heard of the marriage and, in a fit of rage at the young man, had him emasculated. The broken hearted thinker entered the convent of St. Dennis as a monk, while his wife and love took the veil-----but the story does not end here. No sooner had he become settled behind abbey walls then his writings began to go out to a waiting group of students. The synod of Soissons declared his statements heretical, and the torture chamber and faggot pile loomed before him.

His outstanding crime was the statement that God alone was omnipotent. Again it became necessary to flee, and this time he went to the woods and at Nagent-sur-Seine he built a little house of reeds and planned to end his days silently writing. But when he awoke one morning he found hundreds of other houses of reeds surrounding his----for his students had followed him even as they had to the very doors of St. Dennis.

When the hue and cry of his book had died down, he was offered another monastery leadership, and took it. This time he installed Heloise as the abbess of the local nunnery. His foes made pointed remarks and he confined himself to writing to her----cold, heartless letters. The woman, on the other hand, poured out her undying love in her letters that have come down to us and are now the symbol of love unrequited and everlasting.

Meanwhile, as the lover died, the scholar became more and more known. He planted himself firmly on Aristotelian ground and then started his theory of conceptualism. This theory rejected at once both realism and nominalism and gave him scholarly foes in both schools.

For any man to dare place himself outside the ranks of his contemporaries at this time required great courage. They were men who did not admire free thinking----rather they wished logic to be used to build up old facts. By using Aristotle as an authority he branded himself as a social product, but by taking a new departure, he is seen as a social process.

Nothing more could be expected from his foes, a group of men who indulged in foolish word-play. For years they wondered if the significance of the sentence 'homo est animal' is contained in the subject, copula, or predicate or in all three. The problem of universals was their objective truth. Abelard discussed the true content of propositions. We may sum up his work by saying that he was a sheer thinker, a formal adjuster of the instrumental processes of thinking.

Before leaving the man it would be well to quote a little from his volume "Yea and Nay", the book which startled his fellows because it told students that to doubt was not a sin. "Constant questioning," declared Abelard in his Prologue, "is the first key to wisdom.....through doubting we come to inquiry and through inquiry we perceive the truth. The nature of the work can be judged from the following quotation which deals with the lawfulness or unlawfulness of homicide. (66)

"Jerome on Isaiah, Bk. V. He who cuts the throat of a man of blood is not a man of blood.

"Idem, On the Epistle to the Galatians: He who smites the

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(66) Norton, A.O.: Readings in the History of Education, Medieval Universities. pp. 21-27. Harvard University Press, 1909.

wicked because they are wicked and whose reason for the murder is that he may slay the base, is a servant of God.

"Idem, on Jeremiah: For the punishment of homicides, impious persons and poisoners is not bloodshed, but serving the law.

"Cyprian, in the Ninth Kind of Abuse: The King ought to restrain theft, punish deeds of adultery, cause the wicked to perish from the face of the earth, refuse to allow parricides and perjurers to live.

"Augustine: Although it is manslaughter to slaughter a man, a person may sometimes be slain without sin. For both a soldier in the case of an enemy, and a judge or his official in the case of a criminal, and the man from whose hand, perhaps without his will or knowledge, a weapon has flown, do not seem to me to sin, but merely to kill a man.

"Likewise: The soldier is ordered by law to kill the enemy, and if he shall prove to have refrained from such slaughter, he pays the penalty at the hands of his commander. Shall we not go so far as to call these laws unjust or rather no laws at all? For that which was not just does not seem to me to be a law.

"Idem; on Exodus ch. xxvii: The Israelites committed no theft in spoiling the Egyptians, but rendered a service to God at his bidding, just as when the servant of a judge kills a man whom the law has ordered to be killed; certainly if he does it of his own volition he is a homicide, even though he knows that the man whom he executes ought to be executed by the judge.

"Idem, on Leviticus Ch. lxxv: When a man is justly put to death, the law puts him to death, not thous.

"Idem, Bk. i of the "City of God": Thou shalt not kill except in the case of those whose death God orders, or else when a law hath been passed to suit the needs of the time and express command hath been laid upon a person. But he does not kill who owes service to the person who gives him his orders, for he is as it were a mere sword of the person who employs his assistance.

"Likewise; When a soldier, in obedience to the power under which he is legitimately placed, kills a man, by no law of the state is he accused of murder; nay if he has not done it, he is accused of desertion and insubordination. But if he had acted under his own initiative and of his own skill, he would have incurred the charge of shedding human blood. And so he is punished if he does not do when ordered that for which he would receive punishment if he did it without orders......

"Isidore, Etymologiae, Bk. XVIII, ch. iii: A righteous war is one waged according to orders, to recover property or drive back the enemy.

"Pope Nicholas to the questions of the Bulgarians: If there is no urgent need, not only in Lent but at all times, men should abstain from battles. If however, there is an unavoidable and urgent occasion and it is not Lent, beyond all doubt preparations for wars should be sparingly made in one's own defense or in that of one's country of the laws of one's fathers; lest forsooth this word be said; A man if he has an attack to make, does not carefully take counsel beforehand for his own safety and that of others, not does he guard against injury to holy religion."

This was the type of work written and rewritten by Abelard for the benefit of his students. When one synod after another burned his work he rewrote substantially the same material over again. It is now necessary to leave this teacher, lover and author, and deal with some of his fellows.

Abelard's Foes

Before listing the teachers of cannon and civil law it is well to speak of the men with whom Abelard waged continual war---- the Scholastics who refused to take his point of view. The problem of things versus universals was at fever pitch during this period and out of this constant bickering over minute details came great minds. Thus a social product again made for social process.

Following Abelard came Hugo of St. Victor. This man followed the teachings of Plato, and was Christian to the core-----not a logician of Abelard's type, but nevertheless a clear and honest thinker. He expounded many doctrines to his students in his search to understand the doctrine of God, and finally came to the conclusion: "Logic, mathematics, physics teach some truth, yet do not reach that truth wherein is the soul's safety, without which whatever is is vain." A typical social product---this man.

As dean of the school at St. Victor he wrote a manual of study: "There are two things by which we gain knowledge, to wit, reading and meditation; reading comes first." Strange as it may seem, the object of this twelfth century work was to prove that the object of all human actions and study is to minister to the needs of life---- a truly modern theory. Now we see the man in the guise of a social process.

An interesting sidelight of the book is that it tells about student life, or rather the rules by which a student must govern himself----he who seeks learning must not neglect discipline-----he must be humble and not ashamed to learn from any one----he must observe decent manners and not play the fool and make faces at lecturers on divinity, for thereby he insults God.

Hugo was the teacher who first outlined the three steps of knowledge-----cogitatio---meditatio----contemplatio. These three steps he expounded to his students in a volume bearing the title Nineteen Sermons on Ecclesiastes. With the same ideal in mind he classifies the sciences in the usual Aristotelian manner, and proves to his students that Christian theology is the true end of all philosophy.

While interested in rational thinking and the development of the minds of his listeners, Hugo was none the less interested in the emotional make-up of the human. In this statement relative to cogitation, meditation and contemplation he does not mean merely the garnering of wisdom of the Seven Liberal Arts; he refers to the knowledge of God as well. There is a sense of the mystic spirit at work and a search for a wide and sure understanding in the man. There is a soul that seeks expression in order to gain its end.

At Chartres, a school which has been mentioned before in this paper, Bernard was teaching. The really great Christian teacher of the twelfth century, he saw in Nature a living organism. His younger brother, Thierry, extended the range of studies open

to students at the university and his lectures greatly influenced one Bernard Silvestris of Tours.

It was this Bernard who drew from the ruins and shambles of the dusky past stately dwellings and palaces. From the questions of his pupils arising out of a study of the ancient world he tried to explain man's relation to the universe, another man who brought about social process.

Another famous teacher at Chartres during this period was Gilbert de la Porree. Like Abelard, he was an expert logician, and the question of universals took up his time and that of his pupils. Like his fellow teacher, he, too, was brought up before a church council for teaching the young ideas that were thought to be wrong. He was told that all would be forgiven if he would tear certain passages out of his text-book. Gilbert refused, and therefore goes on record as being the first author to refuse to have his manuscript altered, to the intense joy of the pupils.

Of a different point of view was William of Conches, who also had studied at Chartres under Bernard. Interested in Nature, he wrote several volumes on the arrangement of the universe in which he hinted at an atomistic explanation of the world, but held fast to the theory given in the Bible in order to save his soul and job. Here is a social product hinting at a social process. He was also something of a humanist, poking fun at those scholars who would not learn any more Latin than was necessary.

John of Salisbury

Over in England was a scholar of note at this time. His name was John of Salisbury, Little John, or to use the name his classical friends gave him, Johannes Parvus. An active and keen mind was his, and he never tired of hearing the views of other men. With this zeal for knowledge he traveled to all the famous schools of his day and listened to the great teachers. This experience gave him a social position at home, and he became secretary to Thibaut, Archbishop of Canterbury, afterwards a friend of Becket, Henry the Second and Pope Adrian the Fourth.

To learn all the knowledge possible was his aim, and he critically judged what every teacher offered him before he bothered to learn it. His was always an independent view, and his remarks on the glosses of other men brought shouts of joy to the mouths of his students. Coupled with this great academic mind, there was a mind that could sift things and people and weigh values keenly.

Always reasonable and logical, although knowing that logic and dialectics are nothing in themselves, he sought to give his students the idea of "open mind". With this idea constantly before him, he sought to learn and teach all branches of knowledge. In a lecture he said, "Wisdom is indeed a fountain, from which pour forth the streams which water the earth; they fill not alone the garden of delights of the divine pages but flow on to the Gentiles, and do not altogether fail even the Ethiopians. It is certain that the faithful and wise reader, who from love keeps learning's watch, escapes vice and draws near to life."

He told his hearers that philosophy was not a thing of words and arguments. Virtue, while not its own reward, brought with it wisdom, which after all was the crowning glory of life. Thus in the twelfth century we see a tendency on the part of a teacher to make all knowledge a basis for judgment. To John goes the honor of seeking to find----not a fact, but the general laws that govern all facts-----a true social process.

Alanus de Insulis

Before leaving this discussion of twelfth century Scholastics and taking up teachers of law I wish to mention Alanus de Insulis. So great was the learning of this man that after this death he was given the title Doctor Universalis. The fame of this teacher was just, for he was a scholar, philosopher, theologian and poet, knew antique literature, and was endowed with a vivid imagination. Teaching at a time when the old line of middle age thought was at a standstill before making a leap into still deeper Aristotelian waters, he was not a student of new affairs. He did not teach his students anything new, but rather re-phrased the words of all those who had preceeded him. He was an example of a social product at its worst.

His mind shows a receptivity for all types of thought -----Platonic, Aristotelian, Neo-Platonic and Pythagorean---- all the fish that had swum into the nets of his fellows he fed upon. His ideas of science were so fantastic that it does not seem possible they were uttered a few years later by Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus.

Study of Law

Let us now consider the study of law during the period under discussion. Of all the medieval urges to repeat the past, none is so definite as desire to master the ancient tables. The first code of Justinian was promulgated in 529. From this date on it was revised and revised. The other code which the medieval mind sought to master was the Salic law of the Teutons which Clovis codified in the year 500.

Thus it can be seen that both codes were formulated into definite tables about the same time. On the other hand, their content was far different. The first dealt with the state; the second, with the tribe; the former with a strong central power; the latter, with the individual. There was little overlapping.

In the twelfth century social conditions demanded and facilitated an increase in legal knowledge. At this time Bologna arose, and being in the heart of Lombardy, long a land of legal interest, soon became the outstanding law school. Civic needs helped, as the city was a growing commercial center, and trade needed legal advice, so law instruction was a social process.

Irnerius

The first master of the University of Bologna was one Irnerius. Little is known of his life beyond the fact that he was at one time in the service of the German Emperor Henry the Fifth, and also had taught the Arts at Ravenna and Bologna before teaching law. At any rate, all accounts give him the honor of founding the school.

His outstanding contribution to the study of law was his gloss upon Justinian's Digest, Codex and Novels. The gloss

shows the fine hand of the scholar and an understanding of not only the meaning of the law, but the chronological history of the laws and the definitions of words used. This gloss was a clear advance over anything in jurisprudence up to its time, and gave the students something to work with in their advanced study. He was also well versed in the practice of law, which aided his study a great deal, as he wrote a book of forms for notaries and a treatise on procedure.

Placentinus

Another member of the faculty at this school was Placentinus. This man spent most of his life as a student and teacher of law. He was the first to set down Roman law in a form that did not follow the sources. He also treats law in a novel manner by using a spiritual allegory of a noble dame to get his points across. Such modern teaching must come under the head of a social process.

The outstanding work of this teacher is his Summa of the Codex of Justinian. Despite his great learning (or,perhaps, because of it) he was an egotist. He says, "There in the citadel of Bologna for two years I expounded the laws to the students; I brought the other teachers to the threshold of envy; I emptied their benches of students. The hidden places of the law I laid open, I reconciled the conflicts of enactments, I unlocked the secrets most potently."

Despite his bragging, his success was great, and he continued his lectures at Montpellier, where he wrote several other books. His work was equally as fine as his teaching and

his glosses continued to be standards for some time. He was later succeeded by one Azo, whose Summae drove out his (Placentinus') previous ones.

There is no time to go into a discussion of the growth of cano law in this paper. Suffice it to say that by the twelfth century the decrees of the popes, the decrees of the councils and the long accepted ecclesiastical customs had been gathered together in a body of laws by which the Church governed itself.

Gratianus

It was due to Gratianus, a monk and teacher at Bologna, whom tradition makes the brother of Peter Lombard, that this was done. The purpose was to make the fathers of theological systematic study and systematic study of canon law brothers----- for the two men did the same work in their own fields. At any rate, Gratianus's work deals with the organization, administration, ordination, and ranking of the clergy, the election of bishops, the authority of primates. It also deals with the power of ecclesiastical courts, the law of monks and the contract of marriage. Drawn up because of its value to the time, it is a typical social product.

Gratian's method was to start his lecture with an authoritative proposition. If his students found it acceptable it stood. If they brought up opposing statements they tried to reconcile them, pointing out either a mistake, or a difference in understanding, or a limited application to the original law.

When he established the rule he proceeded to mark it off into all the subdivisions, and if he found any cause for listing the arguments against the case he has built up he did so in his gloss. His outstanding source of information was the papal decrees which he collected and codified. In fact, so great was his work that even after many years had passed it was looked upon as the best on the subject.

Educational Activity

So much for law. Let us now turn to the growth of the universities during the thirteenth century. This growth is tied up with two closely connected items----the activities of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and the discovery and appropriation of Aristotle. The twelfth century had seen a tendency for the towns to become powerful. The Paris schools had become famous. Juristic studies had sprung up. Many of the Schools became greater and attracted Masters, becoming Universities.

It was Alexander of Hales, an Englishman, who was the first Franciscan to use Aristotle's philosophy. From the time he took up this study until the very end of the medieval period there was no branch of knowledge that was not weighed, taught and learned in terms of the ancient Greek.

Bonaventura

The thirteenth century teachers of the true universities were outstanding men. The first whom we shall discuss is John of Fidanza, who, under the name of Bonaventura, was to become Doctor Seraphicus. A member of the Franciscan Order, he went to Paris

and studied under the direction of Hales. For some years he devoted himself to writing and defending hid order, until in 1257 he got his Master's and became a teacher. Later he was to leave teaching to become a member of the college of cardinals.

Like all teachers of theology in his day, he turned to Augustine. To be sure, in later days he threw him over slightly, but on the whole he stuck to him in preference even to Aristotle. For that matter, it is the writings of Bonaventura that have done much to fix Augustinianism upon the Franciscan Order.

He taught his students that good was pre-eminent over truth-----from this, he said that willing was better than knowing. He told his students that all good came from God and that logic, natural and moral philosophy make an illuminated path to that place where God himself lies consealed. To be sure, the man's reasoning was abstruse and fantastic, but even today there are many who think that knowledge is merely a means of understanding man's relation to God. This makes for social process.

The best summing up of his teaching may be made by saying that his life was " a constant adapting of all knowledge and the ways of meditation, to the sense of God and the soul's inclusion in the love divine." One of his best works is a commentary upon Lombard's Sentences which added greatly to the value of that work for student use.

To my mind, although hampered by having no good translation of the man's works, his greatest contribution to his day and age was his rational, scholarly perception of the modes and

uses of Christian doctrines, which lead to salvation. His expressions of fact in his lectures were filled with religious yearnings. He is the first teacher in whom we see the "true spiritual attitude" which he, in turn, spread to his students.

Albertus Magnus

Albertus Magnus was the Dumas of medieval education. By that I mean that so great were his mental energies and so many fields was he interested in that he had to have fellow-laborers work collecting material for him. But like the great French author, he was a genius when working with this borrowed material.

A man of piety was this teacher, walking barefoot from one school to another until his retirement to the university at Cologne. Despite his wanderings as a Dominican Provincal, he put into the grasp of his contemporaries all the philosophy and science which the old Greek Aristotle had written about, and which the Arabs had commented upon.

He told his students that his method was "to follow the order and opinions of Aristotle and to give in addition whatever is needed in the way of explanation and support; yet without reproducing Aristotle's text. And we shall also compose disgressiones to expound whatever is obscure." Here was a teacher with poor Latin, who worked with the material of others, and yet omitted no detail of study. He was a social product.

The greatest work of the man was his Opera, which is in twenty-one volumes, every one of which deals with some angle of the outdoors, and even goes so far as considering the possibility

of plants having souls. If any man deserves credit for having taught the first course in zoology, that credit should go to Albert. Of course, he included fabulous tales in his De naturis reum, and tells many a story about the medicinal or magical effect of parts of various animals.

This was the man's great gift to western Europe,---- the facts of science as they had been gathered to date. Interest in animal life was spreading, doctors were wondering about the old cures for ills. The interest of the man in the ancient Greek writer, due to his limited knowledge of Latin, served him in good stead, and he became the founder of the studies of plants, bugs and flowers that are now part and parcel of our college curricula. By this it is not inferred that he was the first to study these phases of nature, but he was the first to bring them to the public eye in a time when the world was ripe for such information. He must be classed as a social process.

Aquinas

To the feet of Albert at Cologne came one Aquinas who, at ten, knew the intellectual currents of his day and, when eighteen, joined the Dominican Order. From then on the two were always together and worked together, and when Thomas died it was the bleary aged eyes of Albert who looked on their book and called it "Thomist" after the pupil who had polished it, instead of "Albertist" after the master who had prepared it.

The life of Aquinas is quite well known to us, but we need pay little attention to his early days here. We know he received his master's degree with Bonaventura, and established

a school at Naples shortly afterwards on the invitation of Urban the Fourth.

While teaching here he wrote commentaries upon many works of Aristotle, in which he shows the most complete understanding of the Greek since the days of the ancient scholars. But more important was his Summa theologiae, the most influential work of scholasticism which helped establish the doctrine that the Pope could do no wrong when speaking on church questions.

Most interesting of all his works is the Quodlibetalia -----disputations held in the theological faculty, upon any thesis having theological bearing. The outstanding one is; Can angels move from one extreme to the other without passing through the middle, a seemingly foolish question, and yet one which shows that at this time the conception of angels as completely immaterial things was pertinent in the minds of men.

Thomas took advantage of this interest and his work becomes a product of his times. Earlier than this, men might have made their times progress, but here was a man who was moulded by the questions that worried his fellows. For this reason (and his mind) he becomes the greatest of the schoolmen, and his way of teaching brought thousands of students to his halls. There is no space here really to evaluate his work, for his teachings are still so powerful that the Church uses them today.

Thomas codified the belief of the Roman Catholic Church and so strong, definite, and true were his findings that in 1870 the Church Council voted itself out of office on the basis of his

teachings. In the great summa which gathered up and expounded in true scholastic fashion all that the Church taught concerning the relation between God and Man, we find him to be a realist of the militant type. His ideal is a mental one, and yet ends in faith. At times he seems to recognize that reason may fail to discover divine nature, but not for long. He lives in the land of the metaphysical.

Perhaps his position is explained by:(67) "It is necessary to place ideas in the divine mind. Idea is the Greek for forma. Thus through ideas are understood the forms of things existing beyond the things themselves. By which we mean the prototype of that of which it is called the form; or the principle of its cognition, in so far as the forms of things knowable are said to be in the knower."

Despite his interest in realism he approaches God rather strangely. Moral virtues are not particularly important to an ultimate meeting with God, but may help. In fact, all spirituality with this teacher is through the mental and intellectual approach. Yet he loves man and man's will. He realizes that God has a divine grace, and he is as full of the "milk of human kindness" as he is of logic, physics, or theology.

Bacon

It was Roger Bacon who led the premature attack on the methods employed by Thomas and his fellows. Bacon sought to reform his time before his time was ready for reform, a true social

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(67) Rickaby, J.: The Moral Teaching of St. Thomas, vol. ii, pp. 332-333. Burns and Oates, Ltd. 1896.

process. Although he accepted the medieval conceptions of the entire truth of the Scripture, he hated the idea that the end of all study was theology. Still, he accepted that idea.

The man was passionately fond of linguistics, mathematics, astronomy, optics, and chemistry. But he was torn between two fires-----what has chemistry to do with theology? Still, by maintaining the doctrine, he saved himself from the faggot pile.

This man is tragedy itself. After studying at Oxford and spending twenty years in research, he joined the Franciscan Order (later to regret it). It seems that he joined after his money had vanished, for, according to the rules, no monk could own anything. He says in his much quoted passage of the Opus tertium:(68)

"For now I have laboured from my youth in the sciences and languages, and now for the furtherance of study, getting togethermuch that is useful. I sought the friendship of all wise men among the Latin and caused youth to be instructed in languages and geometric figures, in numbers and tables and instruments, and many needful matters. I examined everything useful to the purpose, and I know how to proceed, and with what means, and what are the impediments: but I cannot go on for lack of the necessary funds. through the twenty years in which I have laboured specially in the study of wisdom, careless of the crowd's opinion, I spent more than two thousand pounds in these pursuits on occult books and various experiments and languages and instruments, and tables and other things."

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(68) Davis, G.L.: Translation of Bacon's Opus tertium, pp. 26-27. The Macmillan Company. 1923.

But so radical were his ideas that he was forbidden to write. Lack of funds (being a monk) kept him from the laboratory. Despite the ban he managed to write and have copies made -----perhaps with the secret aid of Pope Clement. It is a moot question if any of these works ever reached the pope, and in 1271 he damned the corruptions of the Church, was condemned to death, was forgiven, and lived on to do a vulgate version of the Bible, write on the sciences, dabble with mathematics, and investigate the cause of the rainbow.

The outstanding work of this period was his forecasts, in which he considers the possibilities of applied science. The work on this subject says:(69)

"It is possible that great ships and sea-going vessels shall be made which can be guided by one man and will move with greater speed than if they were full of oarsmen.

"It is possible that a device for flying shall be made such that a man sitting in the middle of it and turning a crank shall cause artificial wings to beat the air.

"It is possible also that devices can be made whereby, without bodily danger, a man may walk on the bottom of the sea or of a river."

Let us leave him here with his dreams of the future, his regrets of the past. A teacher neglected by his students, who could not interest themselves in the man. Let us pass over him while he passes over his times, ahead of them, but never waiting for them to get up, as he must be off anew.

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(69) Roger Bacon's letter concerning the Marvelous Power of Art and of Nature, translated by T.L.Davis. Ibid.

Duns Scotus

It was when Johannes Duns Scotus took up the torch from Bacon that scholastic methods started to fail. Although men still thought in terms of angels who sat on the points of pins, the foundations of scholasticism were failing. He criticized his predecessors, and his students gasped to hear their idols mocked. There was no empty word play to him----he used logic to defeat logic-----he reasoned logic out of human reach, a real social process.

First he told his students that the metaphysical theories and theology had no relationaship. To be sure, there was no Aquinas to answer, and the Popes were at Avignon, but he advanced arguments to prove his case. To begin with, he thought that the will ruled the intellect, held that the soul and its faculties were the same, said that the idea exists since it is conceived.

In fact, so strong was his reasoning that few wished to enter the lists against him. Those who sided with him were called Dunces! But nevertheless, he had a great influence on his times, and paved the way for the thinking that was to follow him, which in turn was to be followed by the Reformation.

William of Occam

His outstanding pupil was the Franciscan, William of Occam, who later lectured at Paris, although born in Surry. Although he profited greatly by the teachings of the Subtle Doctor, he would not accept all of his teachings, and struck out for himself. He claimed that the idea was abstract, that science and faith are of two different provinces----that the evidence

of faith is not required for what is known through evidence. Science, he says, does not depend on faith, nor, on the other hand, does faith depend on science. This was the final blow to Thomas' teaching. Social process was making headway.

The fall did not come all at once. Scholasticism merely was losing its grip on the men in the universities, who began to see that perhaps life contained something more than philosophy, and tomes of hair-splitting differences. Decay was at work, within and without. The Dunces were not sitting on stools; they were thinking------new thoughts.

Out of these were to come new churches-----Wycliffe had already received his degree----Huss and Luther were soon to be heard. Trade was picking up and theology dying down. Emotional changes were being manifested-----life was changing---reforming.

So let us leave it-----in this process of change,-----and retrace our steps and see what the courses were that these men presented at the schools.

COURSES OF STUDY

It seems that a logical mode of progression is impossible in the writing of this thesis. In the preceeding section it was our aim and intent to deal merely with the personalities who made up the teaching staffs of the medieval universities, but in so doing, it was necessary to tell of the subject matter that they presented. This was unavoidable. Yet the courses of study offered by the universities of the Middle Ages are far too important to be so lightly touched upon. Hence, we will treat them in further detail in this section of the thesis.

The Seven Liberal Arts

The sum total of all medieval university instruction was to be found in the Seven Liberal Arts. The subjects falling into this group were those which were originally preserved by the Church as fit for secular learning. Later, glorified by this religious background, the "seven studies" flourished until at one time, everything in law, medicine, and theology was based upon them.

There were two subdivisions of the Seven Liberal Arts, known as:

1. THE TRIVIUM: (1) Grammar; (2) Rhetoric; (3) Dialectic (Logic)
2. THE QUADRIVIUM: (4) Arithmetic; (5) Geometry; (6) Astronomy; (7) Music.

Based upon these seven fundamentals was the study of Ethics, or, as we should call it today, Metaphysics. Built upon this study was still another, the highest, which was the goal toward which all the preceeding studies had aimed-----Theology.

In order that the reader may understand just what these seven subjects were about, the writer has chosen to quote from the works of the famed Rhabanus Maurus, who was a pupil at Tours under the still more famous Alcuin. Although the following extract was written in 819, it is a true description of the Seven Liberal Arts as taught by the later universities. These subjects were products of their time, and did not change until men threw

over the power of the church, and started free-thinking which is, after all, free-teaching. The following is Painter's translation of Maurus' work:(70)

"The first of the liberal arts is grammar, the second Rhetoric, the third Dialectic, the fourth Arithmetic, the fifth Geometry, the sixth Music, the seventh Astronomy.

"GRAMMAR. Grammar takes its name from the writtem character as the word indicates. The definition of grammar is this; Grammar is the science which teaches us to explain the poets and historians; it is the art which qualifies us to write and speak correctly. Grammar is the source and foundation of the liberal arts. It should be taught in every Christian school, since the art of writing and speaking correctly is attained through it. How could one understand the sense of the spoken word, or the meaning of letters or syllables, if one had not learned this before from grammar? How could one know about metrical feet, accent, verses, if grammar had not given one a knowledge of them? How should one learn to know the articulation of discourse, the advantages of figurative language, the laws of word formation, and the correct form of words, if one had not familiarized himself with the art of grammar?

"All the forms of speech, of which secular science makes use in its writings, are repeatedly employed in the Holy Scriptures. Every one, who reads the sacred Scriptures with care,

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(70) Rhabanus Maurus' Education of the Clergy. Translated by F. Painter from the German of Schulz. pp. 16-20. American Book Company. 1905.

will discover that our (biblical) authors have used derivative forms of speech in greater and more manifold abumdance than would have been supposed and believed. There are in the Scriptures not only examples of all kinds of figurative expressions, but the designations of some of them by name; as allegory, riddle, parable. A knowledge of these things is proved to be necessary in relation to the interpretation of those passages of the Holy Scripture which admit of a two-fold sense; an interpretation strictly literal would lead to absurdities. Everywhere we are to consider whether that, which we do not at once understand, is to be apprehended as a figurative expression in some sense. A knowledge of prosody, which is offered in grammar, is not dishonorable, since among the Jews, as Saint Jerome testifies, the Psalter resounds sometimes with iambics, sometimes with Alcaics, sometimes chooses sonorous Sapphics, and sometimes does not disdain catalectic feet. But in Deyteronomy and Isaiah, as in Solomon and Job, as Josephus and Origen have pointed out, there are hexameters and pentameters. Hence this art, though it may be secular, has nothing unworthy in itself; it should be rather learned as thoroughly as possible.

"RHETORIC. According to the statements of teachers, rhetoric is the art of using secular discourse effectively in the circumstances of daily life. From this definition rhetoric seems indeed to have reference to merely secular wisdom. Yet it is not foreign to ecclesiastical instruction. Whatever the preacher and herald of the divine law, in his instruction, brings forth in an eloquent and becoming manner; whatever in his written

exposition he knows how to clothe in adequate and impressive language, he owes to his acquaintance with this art. Whoever at the proper time makes himself familiar with this art, and faithfully follows its rules in speaking and writing, need not count it as something blameworthy. On the contrary, whoever thoroughly learns it so that he acquires the ability to proclaim God's word, performs a true work. Through rhetoric anything is proved true or false. Who would have the courage to maintain that the defenders of truth should go weaponless in the presence of falsehood, so that those, who dare represent the false, should know how by their discourse to win the favor any sympathy of the hearers, and that, on the other hand, the friends of truth should not be able to do this; that those should know how to present falsehood briefly, clearly, and with the semblance of truth, and that the latter, on the contrary, should clothe the truth in such an exposition, that listening would become a burden, apprehension of the truth a weariness, and faith in the truth an impossibility.

"DIALECTIC. Dialectic is the science of the understanding which fits us for investigations and definitions, for explanations, and distinguishing the true from the false. It is the science of sciences. It teaches how to teach others; it teaches learning itself; in it the reason marks and manifests itself according to its nature, efforts, and activity; it alone is capable of knowing; it will not only will, but can lead others to knowledge;

its conclusions lead us to an apprehension of our being and our origin; through it we apprehend the origin and activity of the good, of Creator and creature; it teaches us to discover the truth and to unmask falsehood; it teaches us to draw conclusions; it shows us what is valid in argument and what is not; it teaches us to recognize what is contrary to the nature of things; it teaches us to distinguish in controversy the true, the probable, and the wholly false; by means of this science we are able to investigate everything with penetration, to determine its nature with certainty, and to discuss it with circumspection.

"Therefore the clergy must understand this excellent art and constantly reflect upon its laws, in order that they may be able keenly to pierce the craftiness of errorists, and to refute their fatal fallacies.

"ARITHMETIC. Arithmetic is the science of pure extension determinable by numbers; it is the science of numbers. Writers on secular science assign it under the head of mathematics, to the first place, because it does not presuppose any of the other departments. Music, geometry, and astronomy, on the contrary, need the help of arithmetic; without it they cannot arise or exist. We should know, however, that the learned Hebrew Josephus, in his work on Antiquities, Chapter VIII of Book 1, makes the statement that Abraham brought arithmetic and astronomy to the Egyptians; but they as a people of penetrating mind, extensively developed from these germs the other sciences. The holy Fathers were right in advising those eager for knowledge to cultivate arithmetic, because in large measure it turns the mind and fleshy

desires, and furthermore awakens the wish to comprehend what with God's help we can merely receive with the heart. Therefore the significance of the number is not to be underestimated. Its very great value for an interpretation of many passages of the Holy Scripture is manifest to all who exhibit zeal in their investigation. Not without good reason is it said in praise of God, 'Thou hast ordained all things by measure, number and weight.'(Book of Wisdom xi,21.)

"But every number through its peculiar qualities is so definite that none of the others can be like it. They are all unequal and different. The single numbers are different; the single numbers are limited; but all are infinite.

"Those with whom Plato stands in especial honor will not make bold to esteem numbers lightly, as if they were of no consequence for the knowledge of God. He teaches that God made the world out of numbers. And among us the prophet says of God, 'The very hairs of your head are all numbered.'.....Ignorance of numbers leaves many things unintelligible that are expressed in the Holy Scripture in a derivative sense or with a mystical meaning.

"GEOMETRY. We now come to a discussion of geometry. It is an exposition of form proceeding from observation; it is also a very common means of demonstration among philosophers, who to adduce at once the most full-toned evidence, declare that their Jupiter made use of astronomy in his works. I do not know whether I should find praise or censure in this declaration of the philosophers, that Jupiter engraved upon the vault of the

skies precisely what they themselves draw in the sand of the earth.

"When this in a proper manner is transferred to God, the Almighty Creator, this assumption may perhaps come near the truth. If this statement seems admissable, the Holy Trinity makes use of geometry in so far as it bestows manifold forms and images upon the creatures which up to the present day it has called into being, as in its adorable omnipotence it further determines the course of the stars, as it prescribes their courses to the planets, and as it assigns to the fixed stars their unalterable positions. For every excellent and well-ordered arrangement can be reduced to the special requirements of this science...........

"This science found realization also at the building of the tabernacle and the temple; the same measuring rod, circles, spheres, hemispheres, quadrangles, and other figures were employed. The knowledge of all this brings to him, who is occupied with it, no small gain for his spiritual culture.

"MUSIC. Music is the science of time intervals as they are perceived in tones. This science is as eminent as it is useful. He who is a stranger to it is not able to fulfill the duties of an ecclesiastical officer in a suitable manner. A proper delivery in ready and a lovely rendering of the Psalms in the Church are regulated by a knowledge of this science. Yet it is not only good reading and beautiful psalmody that we owe to music; through it alone we become capable of celebrating in the most solemn manner every divine service. Music penetrates

all the activities of our life, in this sense namely, that we above all carry out the commands of the Creator and bow with a pure heart to his commands; all that we speak, all that makes our hearts beat faster, is shown through the rhythm of music united with the excellence of harmony; for music is the science which teaches us agreeably to change tones in duration and pitch. When we employ ourselves with good pursuits in life we show ourselves thereby disciples of this art; so long as we do what is wrong we do not feel ourselves drawn to music. Even heaven and earth, as everything that happens here through the arrangement of the Most High, is nothing but music, as Pythagoras testifies that this world was created by music and can be ruled by it. Even with the Christian religion music is most intimately united; thus it is possible that to him, who does not know even a little music, many things remain closed and hidden.

"ASTRONOMY. There remains yet astronomy which, as someone has said, is a weighty means of demonstration to the pious, and to the curious a grievous torment. If we seek to investigate it with a pure heart and an ample mind, then it fills us, as the ancients said, with great love for it. For what will it not signify, that we soar in spirit to the sky, that with penetration of mind we analyze that sublime structure, that we, in part, at least, fathom with the keeness of our logical faculties what mighty space has enveloped in mystery! The world itself, according to the assumption of some, is said to have the shape of a sphere (sic!---819!), in order that its circumference may be

able to contain the different forms of things. Thus Seneca in agreement with the philosophers of ancient times, composed a work under the title, 'The Shape of the Earth.'

"Astronomy, of which we now speak, teaches the laws of the stellar world. The stars can take their place or carry out their motion only in the manner established by the Creator, unless by the will of the Creator a miraculous change takes place. Thus we read that Joshua commanded the sun to stand still in Gideon, that in the days of King Josiah the sun was darkened for three hours. We call such occurences miracles, because they contradict the usual course of things, and therefore excite wonder.

"That part of astronomy, which is built up on investigation of natural phenomena in order to determine the course of the sun, of the moon, and stars, and effect a proper reckoning of time, the Christian clergy should seek to learn with the utmost diligence, in order through the knowledge of laws brought to light and through the valid and convincing proof of the given means of evidence, to place themselves in a position, not only to determine the course of past years according to truth and reality, but also for further times to draw confident conclusions, and to fix the time of Easter and all other festivals and holy days and to announce to the congregation the proper celebration of them.

"The seven liberal arts of the philosophers which Christians should learn for their utility and advantage, we have, as I think, sufficiently discussed. We have this yet to add. When those, who are called philosophers, have in their expositions

or in their writings, uttered perchance some truth, which agrees with our faith, we should not handle it timidly, but rather take it from its unlawful possessors and apply it to your own use."

Even a casual reader of the above quotation can see that the Seven Liberal Arts as taught in the medieval universities were products of their times. It is interesting to note that whenever there is danger that any student may question the suitableness of any subject, he is told that it is of value even if of a secular nature. An example of this is in the line "....hence this art, though it may be secular, has nothing unworthy in itself."

Study of Law

It is now worth our while to retrace our steps and outline the development of the study of law during the Middle Ages. It was no idle chance that the study of both divisions of law grew to the greatest height in the cities of Italy. This growth was due to two reasons; the rise of cities which brought about an increase in the use of civil law, while the struggle with the ruling bishops and the Italian stand with the Papacy during the struggle with the German kings brought about an increased need for canon law. As remarked before, antique learning had never died out in these Italian cities, and thus the old Roman law was turned to as containing principles of importance that were applicable to the conditions and problems of the time. Thus we find the study of law was a social product.

In the preceeding section we have told of the great

work of Inerius, who gave Bologna its fame as a center for the study of law. His lectures on the Code and Institutes of Justinian caused the university to become famous. For this reason, the authorities, long classing law in the same field as rhetoric, gave the subject the dignity of a separate classification of study. This event had great influence, for much social process could be made by means of the law, even when the advocates were hampered by veneration for authority.

At Oxford the diploma Bachelor of Degrees (Admissio ad lecturam extraordinarium alicuius libri Decretalium) was awarded for the completion of five years' study of civil law and two years' additional study of the papal legislation and rulings of the various church councils. By this it can be seen that the study of canon law was a typical social product, as it rose out of the conditions of church government at its time. Incidentally, the reader must bear in mind that canon law is still studied, although lay-lawyers have given it no thought, and let the churchmen study it themselves.

For the sheepskin reading "Doctor of Degrees" the candidate had to read the tractates De Simonia, De Consecratione, and De Paenitenta. In addition to this, they had to stand up against all questions put to them by the Regents of the university and oppose the views advanced. They had practice in lecturing as well, and for every teacher of canon law in the university, they had to make one public lecture to the students.

Requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Civic Law (Admissio ad lecturam libelli Institutionum) were quite different.

Those students who were studying for the Master of Arts degree had to put in only four years of study for this law honor. All others were required to attend classes for six years. For "License ad legendum aliquod volumen Juris Civilis," the student had to hear the libi apparitati of the Civil Law.

For admission to the inner circle of the bar, the student was obliged to continue his studies. While no additional time limit was set, this did take more time. The candidate was required to have lectured on the "Institutes," the "Digestum Novum" and the "Infortiatum," and to have lectured in the class of every regent. Moreover, he was supposed to have opposed and responded in the School to each Decretist.

Social process in the study of law also manifests itself in another way. Because of the increased interest in and value of the law it was placed on a plane just below that occupied by Theology. Out of this came a natural evolution of the lay-lawyer instead of the priest-advocate.

In a previous section of this thesis the work of Gratian in codifying the canon has been discussed. All the church canons and all the rules for church government were included in his text-book, "Decretum Gratiani." This book did for canon law what Justinian's "Digest" had done for civil law. By that is meant that it organized it into the position of a new and important subject. An interesting social process arising out of this is that Canon Law was taken out of the field of Theology and made a separate subject for the study of both theological

and legal students. From these two main subjects the faculties of law at the various universities drew their lectures.

Study of Medicine.

Medicine has long been a study of the thinking races since the days of Hippocrates, of whom mention has been made elsewhere. His writings and code of ethics substituted the age-old belief that illness was due to the wrath of the gods for the sound idea that it was due to natural causes. Mention has also been made of Galen, who left an anatomical account of the human body, and thus paved the way for further study.

But the way of medicine was beset with difficulties. The early Dark Ages had wiped the study off the slate of learning and later Christian theology looked upon illness as a divine punishment for sin. For this reason the cures for all sicknesses were thought to be obtained at shrines of saints, and from relics. We have traced the development of Salerno and shown how this great school changed the whole trend of the study of medicine when the doctors there healed the wound of that noble knight Robert of Normandy, Duke.

For years the method of instruction at all medical schools was by the text-book method. The scarcity of books was the chief impediment to the study of medicine during the Middle Ages, if one discounts the Papal dislike of cutting human flesh, and similar regulations. The students would make "glosses" on the lectures of their professors and note down what they saw in the "clinics" of the time. Then too, every medical school of the time had a library, which, while quite small, usually aided

the student in his work.

The books in the library were chained with a heavy linked rod to their case, and to protect them further from removal it was customary to inscribe an anathema in the volume. The following are two of the most interesting ones:(71)

1. "Should any one by craft or any device whatever abstract this book from this place (Jumieges) may his soul suffer, in retribution for what he has done, and may his name be erased from the book of the living and not recorded among the Blessed."

2. "Who so ever y be come over all
I belonge to the Chapell of gunvylle hall;
He shal be cursed by the grate sentens
That felonsly faryth and beirth me thens.
And whether he bere me in pooke or sekke,
For me he shall be hanged by the nekke,
(I am so well beknown of dyverse men)
But I be restored theder agen."

Before leaving the study of medicine during this time it will be well to glance at the required course at the University of Paris. The Moslem influence is plainly seen, so this course is clearly a social **product:**(72)

"This is the form for licensing bachelors of medicine. First, the master under whom the bachelor is, ought to testify to the chancellor, in the presence of the masters called together

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(71) Clark, J.W.: The Care of Books. pp. 77-78. As quoted by Cubberley in his Readings on the History of Education, p. 83.

(72) Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. 1, no. 453, p. 517; translated by Munroe, and quoted by Cubberley in Ibid. p. 174.

for this purpose, concerning the suitability of licensing the bachelor. He ought to prove his time of study by at least two examinations; and at the time which he ought to have to have studied is five and one half years, if he has ruled in the arts or has been a licentiate; or six if he has not.

"The course of study is as follows:

1. He ought to have heard;

(a) The "Ars Medica" (probably "Liber Tegni of Galen) twice in the regular courses and once in an extraordinary course, with the exception of Theophilus.(73)

(b) On Urines, which is sufficient to have heard once in either a regular or extraordinary course.

(c) The "Viaticum" (composed by Abu Djarfar Ahmad, disciple of Isaac) twice in regular courses.

(d) The other books of Isaac(74) once in a regular course, twice in extraordinary courses, except the Particular Diets, which it is sufficient to have heard in an extraordinary or regular course.

(e) The Book of Antidotes of Nicholas.(75)

(f) The Verses of Aegidus are not required.

"Also

2. He ought to have read:

1. The books of Theory and Practice.(76)

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(73) Theophilus was a Byzantine physician, said to have lived in the seventh century, A.D.

(74) Isaac was a Jew who wrote several books on medicine which were translated from the Arabic by Constantine the African

(75) Book of Antidotes was then used in about the same sense as Book of Mendicaments.

(76) By this, Denille thinks the Opus Pantegni, by Ali ben Abbas, is meant. This was divided into Theory and Practice.

"And he ought to swear this. Moreover, if any one is convicted of perjury or lying he, although licensed, may be degraded."

Study of Theology

The last separate study we shall take up is that of Theology. This subject started to become popular by the end of the eleventh century. This period showed that Christian civilization was to be a reality, and the Church felt that now that danger from Moslems, German tribes, and fighting nobility was over, time could well be spent in organizing the faith. Up to this time people had been simple in their understanding of God. But now all was changed.

As the cathedral schools became the universities, a rise in the spirit of inquiry was manifest. This was a social product as hitherto, the church teaching had been done in the monastic schools, far removed from secular influence. The universities, on the other hand, were next to the pulse of the great outside world, so it is only natural that doubts and questions came up in the minds of teachers and students.

Out of this desire to learn the whys and wherefores of religion rose Scholasticism-----that great power which influenced the study of Theology. In order to combat this unrest the Mother Church organized, systematized, and restated its faith and doctrine. This movement on the part of the Church brought about the development of those two schools of thought,----Nominalism and Realism. The student had to make his choice between these

two schools and by so doing passed on to the later universities a heritage of religious dogma in thinking that was hard to shake off. Thus we see that what was once a product of thinking later became a check upon the use of the mind.

The teachers of theology stressed reasoning, so logic took the exalted place in the Seven Liberal Arts which were the foundation upon which all Theology students worked. The great master of the Masters of Scholasticism was Aristotle----yet the great Greek was first barred by the Church and later brought in to save it from so-called heretics.(77)

(a) "Church Council, Paris, 1210.

Nor shall the books of Aristotle on Natural Philosophy, and the Commentaries (of Averroës on Aristotle) be read in Paris in public or in secret; and this we enjoin under pain of excommunication."

(b) "Statutes of the Papal Legate for the University, 1215.

The treatises of Aristotle on Logic, both the Old and the New, are to be read in the schools in the regular and not in the extraordinary courses. On feast-days (holidays) nothing is to be read except.....the Ethics, if one so chooses, and the fourth book of the Topics. The books of Aristotle on Metaphysics or Natural Philosophy, or the abridgments of these works, are not to be read."

(c) "Statutes of Pope Gregory for the University, 1231.

Furthermore, we command that the Masters of Arts.... shall not use in Paris those books on Natural Philosophy which

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(77) Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. 1; translated by Norton, quoted by Cubberley Ibid, page 138.

for a definite reason were prohibited in the provincial council (of 1210), until they have been examined and purged from every suspicion of error."

(d) "Statutes of the Masters of Arts for the University, 1254.

None of Aristotle's works is now forbidden. Seventeen are now prescribed as regular texts."

The above quotation gives us another example of a social process that in time became a social product. For nearly five centuries after he was accepted by the Church Council Aristotle dominated all philosophic thinking. In the limited field of thought of Theology the keen mind of the begowned student found an outlet in subtle reasoning. Moreover, the benefices of the Church appealed to the starving youngsters of the begging bowl. Starving is used in two senses----intellectual and physical. The church offices took care of the empty stomachs, and the disputations of the Schoolmen fed the mind.(78)

"The Dominican Theologians made peace between the contending factions by placing Aristotle and the Fathers side by side, and deferring as reverentially to one as to the other, except on the few fundamental points upon which the former could not be interpreted in harmony with the latter. The Scholastic form of argument, which attained its full development in Aquinas -------a chain of authorities and syllogisms in defence of one thesis, another series for the opposite view, a conclusion in harmony with Augustine or Aristotle as the case might be, and a

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(78) Rashdall, H.: Ibid. vol. 1, p.365.

reply to the opposing arguments by means of ingenious distinction or reconciliation-----afforded exceptional facilities for the harmonious combination of orthodoxy and intellectuality.

"The Dominicans showed the Latin Churchmen how to be ingenious, startling, brilliant, even destructive, without suspicion of heresy. (Saint) Bernard would have been shocked at the idea of inventing or even of fairly stating objections to the Catholic Faith. By the time of Aquinas it was felt that the better the imaginary opponent's case could be stated, the more credit there was in refuting it. The scholar's intellectual enjoyment of thirty ingenious arguments against the Immortality of the Soul was not diminished by the thirty-six equally ingenious arguments with which the attack would immediately be met. In scholastic disputation.....restless intellectual activity found an innocent outlet, love of controversy and speculation an innocent gratification; and into the love of controversy and speculation the real ardour for truth and knowledge, which distinguished the age of Berengar and the age of Abelard, had for the most part degenerated."

From the forgoing it can be seen that the dogmatic teachings of the Schoolmen became before long a social product with no idea of applying their knowledge to the actual needs of man. This abstract philosophy laid down principles, comparisons, analysis, deductions, and defended the faith of the Church. But no forward step was taken, except to deflect some keen men out of the field of Mars and put them in the houses of God. The only

social process made by the study of Theology was that it showed mankind that there was a possibility that there might be two sides to every question-----but they could see only that of the Church.

The Arts Degree

Before leaving the courses of study offered by the medieval universities, let us look at the requirements for the Bachelor's Degree. While the four professional degrees (two in law, one in medicine, and one in theology) were the ultimate aim of all students, many had to be content with their B. A. What were the requirements for this degree?

Let us look at the requirements at Paris. Bearing in mind the position of Aristotle at the University, it is intersting for us to note the position he has on this list:(79)

"I. The 'Old' Logic.
    1. Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle (Isagoge), Porphyry.
    2. Categories, and On Interpretation, Aristotle.
    3. Divisions, and Topics except Bk. IV, Boethius.
II. The 'New' Logic.
    1. Prior and Posterior Analytics, Aristotle.
    2. Sophistical Refutations, "
    3. Topics, "
III. Moral Philosophy.
    1. Ethics, 4 Bks. "

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(79) Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, vol. 1, p. 119. Quoted by Cubberley, Ibid. page 168.

IV. Natural Philosophy.

1. Physics, Aristotle.
2. On the Heavens and the Earth, "
3. Meteorics, "
4. On Animals, "
5. On the Soul, "
6. On Generation, "
7. On Sense and Sensible Things, "
8. Sleep and Waking, "
9. Memory and Recollection, "
10. On Life and Death, "
11. On Plants, " (?)

V. Metaphysics.

1. Metaphysics, "

VI. Other Books.

1. On the Six Principles, Gilbert de la Porrée.
2. Barbarismus (Bk. 3, Larger Grammar), Donatus.
3. Grammar (Major and Minor), Priscian.
4. On Causes, Costa ben Luca.
5. On the Differences of Spirit and Soul (another translation of On Causes)."

Such a list of courses is a typical social product. Let us now examine the requirements at Leipzig. The books listed here were those to be read for both the A.B. and M.A. degrees. The list specified below was required a little later than the one from Paris, and even the casual student will see less of

Aristotle and more balance in the course. This is due, of course, to social process in the intervening years.(80)

"(a) Books required at Leipzig for the Degree of A.B., 1410

I. Grammar.

1. Last two books of Priscian. (2 months.)

II. Logic.

1. Tractatus (Summulae), Petrus Hispanus. (2½ to 3 months)
2. The 'Old' Logic. (3 to 4 months.)
3. The 'New' Logic, except Topics. (6½ to 7 mo.)

III. Natural Philosophy.

1. Physics. (6 to 9 months.)
2. On the Soul. (2 months.)

IV. Mathematics.

1. On the Material Sphere (Sacrobosco).(5 to 6 weeks.)

(b) Books required at Leipzig for A.M. in 1410.

I. Logic.

1. Logic of Heytisbury.
2. Topics, Aristotle. (3 to 4 months.)

II. Moral and Practical Philosophy.

1. Ethics. (6 to 9 months.)
2. Politics. (4 to 9 months.)
3. Economics. (3 weeks.)

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(80) Zarncke: Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig, pp. 311-312. Quoted by Cubberley, Ibid. page 169.

"III. Natural Philosophy.

1. On the Heavens and the Earth. (3½ to 4 months.)
2. On Generation and Destruction. (7 weeks to 2 months.)
3. Meteorics. (3½ to 4 months.)
4. Parva Naturalia. (2½ to 3 months.) The books on:
    - a. Sense and Sensible Things.
    - b. Sleep and Waking.
    - c. Memory and Recollection.
    - d. Longevity and Shortlivedness.

IV. Metaphysics.

1. Metaphysics. (5 to 9 months.)

V. Mathematics.

1. Astronomy: Theory of the Planets (Gerard of Cremona). (5 to 6 weeks.)
2. Geometry: Euclid. (5 to 9 months.)
3. Arithmetic: Common Arithmetic (Sacrobosco). (3 weeks to 1 month.)
4. Music: Music (John de Muris). (3weeks to 1 mo.)
5. Optics: Common Perspective (John of Pisa). (3 to 3½ months.)"

As an example of a course allowing electives, let us look at the one at Oxford. Here we find a combination of the old-line Seven Liberal Arts and the teachings of Aristotle:(81)

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(81) Rashdall, H.: Ibid. vol. 2, part 2. pp. 455-458.

"For B.A. (Admissio ad lecturam alicuius libri Facultatis Artium):

Four Years' study.

For Determination:

To have been admitted as above, and 'read' some book of Aristotle.

To have disputed for a year as 'General Sophister' *in Parviso*.

To have responded *de questione*.

To have heard: Donatus, *Barbarismus*; Arithmetic (*Algorismus integrorum*); the method of finding Easter (Computus ecclesiasticus); (Johannes de Sacra Bosco), *Tractatus de Sphaera*; Porphyry, *Isagoge*; Gilbert de la Porrée, *Sex Principia*; Aristotle, *Sophistici Elenchi*-*lectionatim* in College or Hall.

The Old and New Logic, except the Boethius, *Topics*, bk. iv, *cursorie* from Bachelors in the Public Schools.

For License and Inception:

Three years' additional study.

To have been admitted ad lecturam alicuius libri Aristotelis, and to have lectured thereon.

To have been admitted to determine.

To have responded apud Augustinenses, and taken part in a certain number of other disputations.

To have heard (in addition to the books already read for B.A.). (Stat. of 1431.)

"In the Seven Arts:

Grammar.....Priscian 'in majore vel minore.' (1 term)
Rhetoric....The *Rhetoric* of Aristotle. (3 terms.)
(Or the *Topics* of Boethius, bk. iv; or Cicero, *Nova Rhetorica*; or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; or '*Poetria Virgilii.*')
Logic.......Aristotle, *De Interpretatione*. (3 terms.)
(Or Boethius, *Topics*, (first three books); or Aristotle, *Prior Analytics*, or *Topics*.)
Arithmetic..Boethius. (One term.)
Music.......Boethius. (One term.)
Geometry....Euclid (? six books.)
(Or Alhazen. (Two terms); or Vitellio, *Perspectiva*)
Astronomy...(Ptolemy?) *Theorica Planetarum*. (2 terms.)
(Or Ptolemy, *Almagesta*.)

In the Three Philosophies:

Natural.......Aristotle, *Physica* or *De caelo et mundo*. (Two terms.)
(Or *De proprietatibus elementorum*, or *Meteorica*, or *De vegetabilibus et plantis*, or *De Anima*, or *De Animalibus*, or 'any of the smaller books.')
Moral.........Aristotle, *Ethica*, or *Economica*, or *Politica*. (Three terms.)
Metaphysical..Aristotle, *Metaphysica*. (Two terms.)"

We may now leave the courses offered in the medieval university and turn our attention to the students who studied them. We have seen that the subjects taught offered the keen-minded of

the age a chance to speculate, investigate and think----all within the confines of the church. When the spirit of inquiry ran rampant, the church checked it, and hence it is safe to say that the courses offered in the universities were social products. They were in later days to have a marked influence on the development of society, but we shall not discuss this until we deal with the rise of the modern spirit in the university.

Student's Credo.

"To have a little and spend it double;
To find that reading is too much trouble;
To reel off ballads, to be pat in
The latest farce, but to fail in Latin;
(Which finds it one and only merit as
The fountain of In Vino Veritas);
To scorn all poems and ancient prosody
Except Horatian Persicos odi;
To buy what never will be paid for;
To know what woman's lips are made for;
Never to worry about tomorrow;
Never to own a genuine sorrow;
Never to do a thing that's prudent-----
But live and die as becomes a student."

STUDENT LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

No correct understanding of the student life of the Middle Ages can be obtained until the investigator approaches the problem from three sides: the customs of the German students, the customs of the Wandering Students, the organization of the University of Paris. With this threefold method of attack, a clear picture can be drawn of the men who wore the gown in the days of the great schools.

The Vagi

I shall first discuss the Wandering Students-----that group about which so much is said, but so little known. Who were they? They were products of their time. As their name implies, they were men, and for the most part young men, traveling from university to university in search of knowledge. Far from their homes, without responsibilities, light of purse and light of heart, carefree and pleasure-seeking, they ran a free, disreputable course, frequenting taverns at least as much as they did lecture rooms, more capable of pronouncing judgment **upon** wine or women than upon problems of divinity or **logic.**

It has been stated that these men were products of their time. Indeed they were. The conditions of medieval learning made it necessary to study the various subjects in different parts of Europe. Moreover, a fixed habit of unrest, which seems to have affected all classes of society after the Crusades, encouraged vagabondage. Then too, in their desire to hear the words of some great teacher, the students had to travel from one university to another. An additional stimulus to this traveling was

the fact that students paid no tolls, begged their meals, received help from the pious----it was "cheaper to study than to work."

They had formed Guilds----again evidence of the influence of the times-----and these associations of beggars were as proud of their fellowship as were the Merchant-Hatters of London. In the following poem note the nasal whine of a suppliant for alms, begging, as Erasmus begged, not in the name of charity, but in the name of learning. There is no grovelling in the dust here; it is an honor to serve the seeker after the light:(82)

"I, a wandering scholar lad,
Born for toil and sadness,
Oftentimes are driven by
Poverty to madness.

"Literature and knowledge I
Fain would still be learning,
Were it not that want of pelf
Makes me cease from learning.

"These torn clothes that cover me
Are too thin and rotten;
Oft I have to suffer cold,
By the warmth forgotten.

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(82) Symonds, J.A.: Wine, Women and Song; Medieval Latin Student's Songs, London, 1907, pp. 59-60. Chatto and Windus.

"Scarce I can attend at church,
Sing God's vespers duly;
Mass and prayers both I miss,
Though I love them truly.

"Oh, thou pride of N----,
By thy worth I pray thee
Give the suppliant help in need,
Heaven will sure repay thee.

"Take a mind unto thee now
Like unto St. Martin;(83)
Clothe the pilgrim's nakedness,
Wish him well at parting.

"So may God translate your soul
Into peace eternal,
And the bliss of saints be yours
In his realm supernal."

This was the type of plea that could roll off the tongue of the wanderers along the open road. Blithesome, squandering, jesting eternally and quaffing infernally----these were the Wandering **S**tudents. These were the men who could chant Latin one minute and the next coo pretty words into the ear of a maid. The intellectual hope of their time, they were a terror and a nuisance. Honest folk are jeeringly forbidden to beware the

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(83) Bishop of Tours, famous for acts of charity.

quadrivium, which is apt to form a fourfold rogue instead of a scholar in four branches of knowledge.

But purses were open, hearts were light, and there was almost always enough to eat-----and one could always steal. Roads led up and down. Little is known of the extent to which this type of traveling (by foot) was carried on during the period under discussion for purposes of pilgrimage and commerce, out of pure curiosity or love of knowledge, for the bettering of trade in handicrafts, or for self-improvement in the various scholastic subjects. Nevertheless, such travel must have thronged the highways and byways of Europe-----and in the midst of the travelers, packs upon their backs, songs in their mouths, and desire in their hearts, strode the Wandering Students.

"The scholars," wrote a monk of Froidmont in the twelfth century, "are wont to roam around the world and visit all its cities, till much learning makes them mad; for in Paris they seek liberal arts, in Orleans, authors, at Salerno, gallipots, at Toledo, demons, and in no place decent manners."

The last phrase sounds like the indictment of a group of college men today by some editorial writer. But the good monk of Froidmont failed to realize that the times had made the students what they were----a class apart. It was not only their pilgrimage to the shrines of knowledge that made them different. There were other reasons. They, while clerics, were distinguished from the secular and religious clergy, as they had taken no orders, or, if they had, only minor ones. Moreover, they held no benefice or cure, and had entered into no conventual community.

Laity versus Students

But they were still more sharply distinguished from the laity, whom they scorned as brutes, and with whom they seemed to have lived on terms of mutual hostility. It is said that a gownsman would rather die of thirst than drink with a townsman----and that is saying a good deal for hate! For that matter, the soldiers of the time were looked upon as little better than the rustics by the students. To be sure, they were grateful to the warriors for keeping the roads safe for them to steal upon, but they had little or no social relationship with the men of arms. The love songs of the students show, however, that Flora, Phyllis, Lydia, and the others thought a man in uniform as good as a man in a gown, and so, no doubt, the rivalry between the two was as great as that between gown and town.

If the Wandering Students had any affinity with a group at all, it was with the Church rather than with any laymen. They were quite proud of their title Clericic, and later added the epithet of Vagi. When they did this, their guild became stronger than ever, and the cordial sense of brotherhood for which the group is noted came into being. It is interesting to observe that the same interests that demanded their association required a patron saint. But even if their affinity was with the Church, the confraternity was anything but religious, and the saint became a character worthy to be called Villon or Rabelais.

They called this saint Golias, and from this word came the term by which the students were known-------Goliardi. Scholars

have asked themselves for years, "Was Golias a real person?" If so, he gave his name to his flock. If he was not a real person, he was invented after the name had become fixed. In any case, Symonds asks the question, "Ought we to connect both words with the Latin gula, and so regard the Goliardi as notable gluttons; or with the Provençal goliar, gualiar, gualiardor, which carry a significance of deceit? Had Golias anything to do with Goliath of the Bible, the great Philistine, who in the present day would be more properly chosen as the hero of those classes which the students held in horror?"(84)

At any rate, it is not easy to answer the question. We must rest content to know that the word was in common use during the Middle Ages. In fact, ecclesiastical documents use the term over and over again-----Vagi scholars aut Goliardi----de familia Goliae. Church Councils in dealing with these wandering men named them as Goliardi as well.

Golias

Giraldud Cambrensis, a scholar in whose time the term had come into general use, thought that this Goliardic person was real. He writes of him as follows:(85) "A certain parasite called Golias, who in our time obtained notoriety for his gluttony and lechery, and by addiction to gulosity and debauchery deserved his surname, being of excellent culture but of bad manners, and of no moral discipline, uttered oftentimes and in many forms,

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(84) Symonds: Ibid.

(85) Wright's Translation of Walter Mape's Latin Poems.

both of rhythm and metre, infamous libels against the Pope and Curia of Rome, with no less impudence than imprudence."

But to us it makes little difference if Golias was a flesh and blood character or not. Suffice it to say that the members of his flock ranged up and down Europe.

Out of this class rose more than one poet. The songs of the period show a love of life, drink, and dance. To the staid minds of the Middle Ages the Wandering Students ranked in the same class as the jongleurs, buffoons, and minstrels. There is nothing strange about this; all were parasites, all were unattached, except by occasional engagements, to any fixed abode. Their vers, like that of the minstrels, does not show the personality of the author, but merely reflects a type.

Student Songs

There is no better way to study the Wandering Students than to study their songs. The mass of them divides into two classes. One division includes poems on the themes of vagabond existence, the truant life of students; on springtime and its rural pleasures; on love in many phases and for divers kinds of women; on dice and the wine bottle. The other division is devoted to graver topics; to satires on society, touching the court; criticising eminent ecclesiastics in all countries; moral dissertations and discourses on the brevity of life.

Written with the aid of the wine cup filled to the brim, and aided by the kisses of fair women of the brothels, these songs form a picture of a group of men who lived a passionate

and nonchalant life. Their work stings like a nettle, and smarts like a burn, but beneath it all is the love and joy of life. Nature takes her hold upon the theme of many of the songs, and the beauty of the wilds and of the field is ever present.

There is very little of the alcove and cloister in this verse of the clerks. Jove, Glycerion, Paris, and Helen take the place of Mary and her friends. If they have a controlling genius, it is Venus. The love displayed is far from being either platonic or chivalrous-----it is love of the sensuous, impulsive, appetitive kind, to which we give the name of Pagan. Yet that was what these men were doing----studying the works of the old time Pagans.

But then, the gownsmen were not so bad. There sweethearts seem to have been mostly girls of the working and rustic classes! Sometimes they were women of bad fame----but rarely married women. There were never any amours with noble ladies. The students were democratic in their love as they were in their thought.

This, too, was a product of the time. The guild of Wandering Students had as its keystone the idea that they were critics of the rich----hence, could they love rich women?----no! The Vagi argument was: just as commission was given to the Apostles to go forth and preach in the whole world, so have the Wandering Students a vocation to travel, and to test the hearts of men wherever they may wander. A rich man's retainers could make it unpleasant for a wandering student, but a rustic might not learn that his daughter had been seduced until the wanderer was miles away.

"Less Latin, Small Greek"

In truth, these Vagi had little of the true scholar about them. They dabbled in books. Their poetry has little that is uplifting in it. There is no domestic piety, no patriotism, no virtuous impulse. This was an age which gave birth to a Francis and a Dominic, an era which witnessed the manly resistance offered by the Lombard burghs to the Teutonic Emperor, the formation of Northern France into a solid monarchy, the struggle of the Popes and the Empire-----yet we do not find a line about these epoch making events. Even the Crusades go unnoticed.

The ecclesiastical satires are merely addressed against those abuses that affect the clerkly classes-----against simony, avarice, venality. This shows that the Vagi were interested only in the things that concerned themselves. They left little impression on their times beyond leaving a glamour that still glistens on the spires of the ancient colleges.

Their concept of sexual relationships is easy to understand when one considers the mode of life they were sworn to follow. Nowhere can one find a trace of the vow sworn by those of the Round Table: "Never to do outrage........and always to do ladies, damosels, and gentlemen succour upon pain of death." But the reason is not far to seek. The Clerici as a class were debarred from domesticity, devoted in theory to celibacy, and in practice incapable of marriage. They may be said to be extra-social rather than anti-social. They may have given free rein to their appetites and respected none of those ties of the home,

but they loved love. The lyrics of these triumphant seducers and light lovers are understandable in the terms of the time in which they were written.

The Vagi were spontaneous, carėless, wanton and unreflective youth. But their scholastic quibblings upon words, contempt for the lower classes, the use of hymn-rhythms, all show that they were creatures of their age, Like the time, there is a dominance of music underneath their lives. Their popular, yet eccliastical, poetry shows the transition of the times. They rendered Latin pliable, and brought a certain breath of paganism and the beauty of the old myths into the humdrum life of Europe -----to them the earth was enjoyable.

After the passing of the right of the chancellor scholasticus of the cathedral church to grant the license to teach, Paris, Bologna, and Toledo doctors could teach anywhere, as has been stated, and this added to the movement of the scholars, which in turn increased the power of the various colleges, as they became more and more popular.

The passing of the right to grant licenses to teach from the hands of the bishops came as a serious blow. At first the Church fought the movement tooth and nail, but as other universities seemes willing to accept the Doctors and Masters of these schools as members of the faculties, nothing could be done about it. Finally the Papal Bull, issued in 1292 and reproduced above, formally granted the right of the University of Paris to send her graduates anywhere to teach. This opened the door, and the custom spread.

Student Privileges

There were other privileges granted these wandering students. Some of them seem quite remarkable when we stop to consider they were granted in an age when international courtesies were unknown. There was freedom from arrest, trial before the professors instead of in the civil courts, free entry into the city gates at all hours, and all debts owed to them had to be paid. Military service was not required of masters or scholars, exemption from arrest for many crimes that the laity suffered death for, deportation for trial was not allowed, no "toll, tax, custom while they are either coming to the University itself, or actually preparing in sincerity to come, or returning to their own homes; and whose status as scholars shall be established by the proper oath."

Food prices were fixed for them, as was the hostel fee, many cities supplied copyists who supplied glosses at cost to the students. The students, all in all, were a much to be desired class, and the authorities welcomed them, as they brought much money into the town. By "a much to be desired class" I mean commercially speaking. Otherwise it is questionable as to whether the citizens were keen on having the gownsmen in their midst.

For that matter, it cost the city quite a bit to have an university within its walls:(86) "The importance attached by great cities to their universities as a source of strength, may be gathered from the chapter in Matteo Vollani's Chronicle describing the foundation of the studio publico in Florence. He

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(86) Symonds, J.A.: Ibid. p. 26.

expressly mentions that the Signory were induced to take this step in consequence of the depopulation inflicted by the Black Death in 1348. By drawing residents to Florence from other States, they hoped to increase the number of inhabitants, and to restore the decayed fame and splendor of the commonwealth. At the same time they thought that serious studies might put an end to the demoralizing situation produced in all classes by the plague. With this object in view, they engaged the best teachers, and did not hesitate to devote a yearly sum of 2500 gold florins to the maintenance of their school. Bologna, which owed even more than Florence to its university, is said to have lavished as much as half its revenue, about 20,000 ducats(87), on the pay of professors and other incidental expenses. The actual cost incurred by the cities through their schools cannot, however, be accurately estimated, since it varied from year to year according to the engagements made with special teachers. At Pavia, for example, in 1400, the university supported in Canon Law several eminent doctors, in Civil Law thirteen, in Medicine five, in Philosophy three, in Astrology one, in Greek one, and in Eloquence one. Whether this staff was maintained after the lapse of another twenty years we do not know for certain."

Let us leave the Vagi wandering from one city to another, from one tavern to another, from one lecture room to another. They are glittering, colorful highlights of the Middle Ages---and their color was nowhere so bright as it was in Paris.

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(87) $2.30 in our money at the prices of twenty-five years ago.

Student Life in Paris

Our next approach to an understand of the student life of this period will be to study the organization of the University of Paris. To be sure, the student settled in Paris was still a wanderer at heart, still handy with the knife and still in love with the ladies. Here, however, he developed a militant interest in politics. Here nationalism developed, and out of it came liberty of thought and freedom of spirit. Although enjoying the status and immunities of churchmen, the Paris students were quick to laugh at the priests. Here was the heart of France----from the heart was to come a new nation.

"When Paris draws its knife,
France's soon at strife."

So went the old couplet and so went the years. At first the University owed nothing to buildings, traditions or endowments. All it needed was a living voice of a great teacher. Out of this humble start came the institution which was to see the fight between the aggressive mendicant friars and the secular doctors result in nothing but a new order entirely.

To return to the University of Paris itself. There were three towns in medieval Paris----the city on the Islands, the town on the right bank, and the University on the left. By the middle of the thirteenth century the town and the University had changed places, and the right bank was the center of the intellectual life of the world. Here all church disputes were settled. Here no overlord but the Pope was recognized, despite the humble fawning of the ~~king~~.

Around the hill by 1221 sixty colleges had reared their spires. Around these schools clustered the real students of the time. They had their choice of many schools, and their desire for learning could be answered by masters well-versed in their subjects. The only need they might feel was that of lack of funds, for the resident students, as well as the Vagi, had light purses, as the following letter shows: (88)

"Well-beloved father, I have not a penny, nor can I get any save through you, for all things at the University are so dear: nor can I study in my Code or Digest, for they are all tattered. Moreover, I owe ten crowns in dues to the Provost, and can find no man to lend them to me; I send you word of greetings and of money.

"The Student hath need of many things if he will profit here; his father and his kin must needs supply him freely, that he be not compelled to pawn his books, but have ready money in his purse, with gowns and furs and decent clothing, or he will be damned for a beggar; wherefore, that men may not take me for a beast, I send you word of greetings and of money.

"Wines are dear, and hostels and other good things; I owe in every street, and am hard bested to free myself from such snares. Dear father, deign to help me! I fear to be excommunicated; already I have been cited, and there is not even a dry bone in my larder. If I find not the money before this feast of Easter, the church door will be shut in my face; wherefore grant my supplication, for I send you word of greetings and money."

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(88) Coulton; A Medieval Garner, London, 1910. pp. 559-560. Constable and Co., Ltd.

There must have been a great many places in the Paris of that day and age for a man to go and waste his father's monay. A map of the old University-town shows a confused collection of spires, colleges, convents, lecture-halls, hostels, taverns, shops, houses for the minor officials of the colleges-----beadles, mace-bearers, apparitors, messengers, servants. Then, too, there is a space showing the "hangers-on"-----owners of the bookstalls, escriptoires, parchment-makers, binders, copyists, illuminers.

A Colorful Age

It was an age and a place for pageantry. The University bought its parchment at a fair. The rector himself led the procession and was followed by the students attended by banners, drum and trumpets. The parchment was duly carried to the various colleges of the University and then the parade broke up usually in a general free for all.

Out of the cluster of colleges on the hill rose one late in foundation, which soon became the leader of them all. The Sorbonne was then, as well as now, a synonym for the entire University. Established in 1257 as a school for theologians, it alone grew wealthy. Popes and kings vied with each other to do it hinir. It gave the supreme degree, Doctor Sorbonnicus-----the great medieval honor.

At the time we are discussing there were about 2000 students at the University, of whom 500 were graduates. These were divided amon the four Faculties of Theology, Canon Law,

Medicine, and Arts. It is true that the dominant note of the University had been since its founding Theology; yet the Rector Magnificus ruled not only the whole University, but was in direct charge of the Faculty of Arts. The other three Faculties had Deans.

Even the election of a president to one of our great Universities in the West is not half so democratic as was the election of the Rector to his office. His term lasted only three months, which allowed very little constructive work to be done. Moreover, he might be a foreigner, with no feeling of kinship toward the French at all. Even a fine Rector, who in his short period of office did much for the University, was not immediately eligible for reëlection.

No Board of Trustees ever acted the way the committee of delegates from the Faculty of Arts acted when they met in the ancient chapel of St. Julien-le-Pauvre to choose the next Rector. In the first place, the election was held in the presence of the student body amid great turbulence. D. B. Wyndham Lewis observes that in 1524,"the students forced the church doors, manhandled the delegates, smashed the windows, and hooted the new Rector. The clergy of St. Julien appealed to Parliament, which ordered elections to be held elsewhere-----but tradition could not be waved aside, and in 1660 the last Rectoral Election of the University took place amid a similar scene."

That was the way the students treated authority, and the persons of those in higher rank. Their conduct towards each other was little better than this, and was caused first by racial feeling, and second by the organization of the student body in a manner that fed this feeling of hate.

The Four Nations

The students, with the exception of the Orientals, were grouped together loosely in what was called "The Four Nations": the Nation of France, combining the Parisians and those of the Midi; the Nation of Picardy, including the Walloons and the men of Artois; the Nation of Normandy; and the nation of England, in which came a rabble of Germans, Scots, Swedes and Dutch. The continual wars with England had made the name of England similar to that of poison, and the other three nations were dead set against the Nation d'Allemagne.

These crowds of lusty young men from the four corners of the earth, full of the joie de vivre, could not live together without an occasional spat. Wine was cheap at the various taverns, and an empty belly could be forgotten when a maid smiled. But if a maid smiled on two men of different nations the whole group was split by a fierce national feud. According to Mr. Wyndham Lewis, Jacques de Vitry has preserved from the late thirteenth century the gist of the insults buffeted about from one side of the street to the other:(89)

"Because of the differences of their homes they disagree and are envious and insulting, and without shame offer insult and contumely, saying that the English are drunkards and have tails, the French proud, soft, and womanish, the Germans mad and indecent in feeding, the Normans stupid and boastful, the Picards traitors and fair weather friends. The Burgundians they

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(89) Wyndham-Lewis: Francois Villon. Literary Guild, 1928. p. 35.

hold brutish and slow, and thinking the Bretons fickle often throw in their teeth the death of Arthur. The Lombards they call avaricious, full of malice, and unwarlike, the Romans seditious, violent, and nail-biters, the Sicilians tyrannical, and cruel, the men of Brabant men of blood, incendiaries, and bandits, the Flemings prodigal, given over to feasting, and soft as butter. And because of such words they often proceed from words to blows."

With such a background it is easy to see why on many a still night a game of tennis or a sober walk along the Preaux-Clercs might develop into a sudden battle in the mass with the resultant bloody heads and skinned noses. It needed but a slight fanning for this flame of national hatred to burst into a roaring fire.

The professors were unable to stop these outbursts, as they held no authority out of the classroom. For that matter, at first they received no salary, but merely lived at the colleges in which they taught, and were supported by them. To be sure, theory had it that as the students came under one of four headings, the professors received fees.

These headings were: the bousier, or bursar, who lived and was educated under the provision of the pious founder of his college. The portionist paid for his board and education. The cameris, a gold tuft, kept his own chamber, and usually a tutor as well. The martinet, a man who did not reside at the University, paid his lecture fees directly to his professor. The fees were standard and were known as the 'bourse', and were payable weekly, the authorities figuring them on the apparent resources of the student.

For the bursar, the bourse was held to cover not only books and tuition but, when necessary, food and clothing as well. There was some discipline of a sort, due, no doubt, to the necessity of collecting these fees. Doors were locked at night (but locks were forced). Undergraduates could walk about the streets only in couples, and when doing so had to wear the undergraduate gown which hung to their knees.

Besides serving to mark them as students, the gowns always hid their faces from their creditors, and it seems that they wore the hood well pulled over their eyes and tucked their thumbs in their belt. Not that these wild youths walked in this manner and thus held up a true picture of academic deportment. Paris at the time was too gay, too poor. Destitute scholars who begged their crusts from door to door from greasy tradesmen could not walk in the manner prescribed.

They spoke Latin, they read Latin, and they thought in Latin. It was not the Latin of the Forum or the Senate. It was a colloquial Latin founded on the living tongue and not on that of the Church Councils-----a sort of lingua franca.

University Organization

The University was a State within a State, and so it was only natural that the students should come in conflict with the civic government. Between the two was a state of perpetual jealousy and conflict, although an ordinance of the Provost of Paris (renewed every two years), bound the civil authorities to respect, and guard all the rights and privileges of the University,

masters and scholars. The students, being minor clerks as the University went hand in hand with the Church and opened the way to office in and out of religion, were answerable only to ecclesiastical authority. In fact, so strong was the control of the University over the lay powers that in 1244 not only did it suspend lectures in its halls, but it stopped sermons in all the churches.

It is plain to see that with such protection riots were common. Every partaker in one was conscious of the fact that if he or any of his friends were seized or handled by the foes in a manner which in any way infringed on any privilege, the whole University would rise to his defence. Headed by the Vice-Chancellor, followed by the High Steward, the Public Orator, the Librarian, the Keeper of the Archives, the Sub-Librarians, the Organist, and the Presidents, Masters, Principals, Dons, a procession would move down the street and demand the instant return of the prisoner.

Of course it was perfectly possible that the captive might have been put to death by the time the parade had formed. But such a mishap would not affect the principal, and the parade would continue until the city authorities made good their error.

I have dealt with the various Faculties of the University, so we are interested only in the men who attended the lectures. Suffice it to say that the Masters were compelled to prepare their lectures beforehand in order to avoid any trouble when the students started to ask questions.

But the vice of the time was not so confined to the students. Candidates for degrees learned very early that a present

or two to the examining board aided one in receiving his Doctor's even when he was not quite prepared. But at that, the University achieved its end. A poor student, in rags, and begging crusts, could enter its door and advance to the highest honors in the gift of the Church. To be sure, he rubbed shoulders with crimps and toughs and slept with daughters of joy, but at last consorted with princes of temporal and spiritual power.

Yet this was the most popular school of its day, and fond parents sent their sons to its portals to learn all the great professors had to offer. Little did they know the way their offspring acted! Rutebeuf, a famous French minstrel of the thirteenth century, whose famous satires reveal a striking personality, treats the hood-winking of honest parents by loose-living students as follows: (90)

"Much argument is heard of late,
The subject I'll attempt to state,
A question for dispute, I fear,
That will hang on for many a year.
The student-folk of Paris town
(I speak of those in cap and gown,
Students of art, philosophy----
In short, 'the University,'
And not our old-time learned men)
Have stirred ~~up~~ trouble here again.

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(90) Shackford: Legends and Satires from Medieval Literature, Boston, 1913. Ginn & Company. pp. 125-127.

"Nothing they'll gain, it seems to me,
Except more bitter enmity,
Till there is no peace, day or night.
Does such a state of things seem wight?

"To give his son a chance to stay
In Paris, growing wise each day,
Is some old peasant's one ambition.
To pay his bills and his tuition
The poor hard-working father slaves;
Sends him each farthing that he saves,
While he in misery will stay
On his plot of land to pray
That his hard toil may help to raise
His son to honor and to praise.
But once the son is safe in town
The story then reads upside down.
Forgetting all his pledges now,
The earnings of his Father's plow
He spends for weapons, not for books.
Brawling through city streets, he looks
To find some pretty, loitering wench,
Or idle brawl by tavern bench;
Wanders at will and pries about,
Till money fails and gown wears out.-----
Then he starts fresh on the old round;
Why sow good seed on barren ground?

"Even in Lent when men should do
Something pleasing in God's view,
Your students then elect to wear
For penitence, no shirts of hair,
But swaggering hauberks, as they sit
Downing in drink their feeble wit;
While three or four of them excite
Four hundred students to a fight,
And close the University.
(Not such a great calamity!)

"Yet, heavens, for one of serious mind
What life more pleasing can you find
Than earnest scholar's life may be?
More pains than precious gems has he,
And while he's struggling to grow wise,
Amusements he must sacrifice,-----
Give up his feasting and his drinking,
And spend his time in sober thinking.
His life is just about as merry
As is a monk's in a monastery.
Why send a boy away to school
There to become an arrant fool?
When he should be acquiring sense,
He wastes his time and all his pence,
And to his friends brings only shame,
While they suppose him winning fame."

Although we are not treating the customs of any other University except those of Paris in this paper it is interesting to note how Chaucer looks at a clerk of Oxford. There is, to be sure, some difference in dates between the two writings, but nevertheless, one can sense a difference in the types of the two student bodies:(91)

"A clerk of Oxford next my notice caught,
That unto logic long had given his thought.
His horse appeared as lean as is a rake,
And he was nowise fat, I undertake;
But looked all hollow, and of sober mien.
Full threadbare was his upper mantle seen;
For he, as yet no benefice could gain,(92)
Nor would he worldly office entertain.
For rather would he have, beside his bed,
Some twenty books, all clad in black and red,
Of Aristotle and his philiophy,
Than fiddle, costly robes, or psaltery.
But, though amongst philosophers enrolled,
Within his chest he had but little gold;
But all that he might gain from any friend
On learning and on books would he expend,

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(91) Skeats: Introduction to Chaucer, Ballard Press, 1922. p. 116.
(92) The clerk was of minor orders.

"And duly for the souls of those he prayed
That for his studies gave substantial aid.
To gather learning took he care and heed,
And ne'er a word would utter more than need;
And all was said in form and reverence,
In brief and lively terms, and full of sense.
To mortal virtue tendered all his speech,
And gladly would he learn, and gladly teach."

But we may look upon the poetry of the "Father of the English language" as a rather idealized English counterpart of the University of Paris student. It is a well-known fact that students were forbidden to carry knives inside the church at Cambridge, but were supplied with a storage place in the ante-room. It was considered bad taste to stab a man at chapel, but on the sward outside the rectory it was perfectly all right to do so.

Medieval Paris

But to return to Paris. There was much in the town that kept the students busy-----watchmen, women, taverns and creditors. There were times when the English cut off the food supply and the terrible winters were made worse by the famine and plague. At such times the cutthroats roamed the streets, and the wolves loped across the frozen Seine and, according to the records, carried off more than one infant alive.

The spirit of the students rose above these misfortunes, and, although the town at times was bled dry, ravaged by misery, hunger and disease, the University prospered. Even though the stink of the streets was like "a smelle as if sulphure were mixed

with mud," men thought beautiful thoughts.

Mr. Wyndham Lewis pictures a young student of the University cutting classes for the day:(93) "He sees across the river, rising above the roofs, the tops of the twin towers of Notre Dame de Paris cutting the sky, and the birds crying and circling around; Notre Dame is in its mingled majesty and grace as we see it now; but in his day the Paris is smaller, and to the base of the Metropolitan cling the little churches of St. Jean-le Rond and St. Dennis-du-Pas. To the north of Notre Dame spread the cloisters and the Cannon's Precinct, where the Schools of Notre Dame were, a little town in itself; to the south a flight of thirteen steps leads down to the Seine. His quick eye glances over the massy walls of the Petit-Chatelet by the bridge, and he looks away with a light grimace, turning to argle-bargle with a stout fish-wife, tossing her back as good as she gives in the matter of obscene repartee. He contemplates the passers-by; the gowned, furred burgess, the Sorbonnical Doctor, the beggar whining and dragging, showing his sores, the fiddler in the cross lands, the quack gesticulating and mouthing to the idle crowd, 'sot par nature, par bequarre et bemol' (the gibe is Rabelais'), on the bridge the knot of truculent men-at-arms, ragged and bearded; the Royal courier clattering by with his white wand; the high-waisted, square-bodiced wives of the bourgeois, with their heart shaped headdress, the bourrelet; the prancing cavalcade escorting a lady of quality, her hair coiffured in high

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(93) Wyndham Lewis, D.B.: Francois Villon. New York, 1929. Literary Guild, 1928. pp. 26-44.

atours; the cloaked pair of elegants wearing soft boots of fawn Cordova leather, fauves botes, falling lackadaisically over the instep and proclaiming, like the carefully ill-arranged neckerchief of the Werther period, their love-bondage.

"He sees a Dominican friar pass, in his black and white habit; a couple of earth coloured, rope-girded Franciscans; a tramping squad of Foot Sergeants; a juggler leading a mule with cymbals; a file of pilgrims from the country plodding to the tomb of St. Genevieve. The crowd on the bridge falls back and divided at a clatter of trotting horses and a barked command; it is the Provost of Paris riding with his body-guard of twelve Archers to his home. A glint comes into the student's eye, answering the sidelong glance of a couple of the town's mopsies carrying on their sinful..........................

"A troop of pack-asses laden with corn from a farm outside the walls take their place; a grimacing showman leading a learned pig succeeds them; and a leper rattling his tartarelle, or clackdish (unless it is Monday, in which case he is confined by a regulation of Charles V. to the Grand Pont); and a scarlet judge riding to the Palais with his retinue; and a pair of secular priests; and a quarter of tumblers; and a file of linked prisoners driven by Sergeants to the Chatelet; and after them a wedding procession, two by two, like a parterre of flowers for color, preceded by the nodding minstrelsy scraping and blowing music, stopping at the baker's to buy and scatter among the crowd the flat cakes called flamiches and fouaces, and again at the open window of the cervoiser to pass around the ceremonial flagon

of thin beer brewed from corn; and so, with a thousand quips and burst of laughter to the parish church, where the long train of promiscuous followers, loungers, beggars, ragamuffins, and idle fellows drop off, since the fun is all over.

"The student observes all this and the cool nip of the wind stirs him from his abstraction. Where to go? For a throw with the dice, an hour with the girls or a battle of wits. The wind rises. A squad of the citizen's watch, going on night duty, tramps by and the student shivers and makes up his mind which streets are passable to him at this date. He turns on his heel; is elbowed roughly aside by a black-vised man-at-arms with a shade over one eye; hurls after the warrior appropriate comment; and is lost in the gathering dusk."

Amusements

There were, however, other amusements for the students besides the brothel and the tavern. Fairs were held regularly, and they combined business with pleasure in an admirable manner. The Gingerbread Fair, the Fair of St. Germain, the Fair of St. Laurent-----all netted a sharp student a chance to eat, drink and be merry.

The Charnel of St. Innocent was another favorite place for the students to go for amusement. It seems strange that these rowdies should choose a cemetery for a gathering place, but they had a good reason. The cemetery was a fashionable promenade, gallants met their lady-loves there, stores and shops lined its walks in arcades. At one side were piles of bones and skulls of those who had been tumbled out of the earth to make way for new arrivals-----that was medieval Paris!

To be sure, at certain seasons of the year sermons were preached here, but one did not have to listen. He could look at the women. Finally an added attraction was offered; the Dance of Death, which was painted along the whole length of one wall. This long pageant was made by Dominican influence, and showed the lookers-on that there is no escape from Death. It is interesting to consider the rough and ready student of the University looking at the picture showing Death stiff and grinning behind the Pope and the Emperor on their thrones; he clutches the Abbess' hand as she leaves the Convent; he taps the Canon on the shoulder as he preaches; appears before the Doctor at his books; the Drunkard swilling wine. The warrior in the field finds that his antagonist is Death; the blind man tapping along the quays finds himself led away by a bony hand. The Judge is shown looking up from his decree and seeing that awful face----- and so on and on.

The free-living students of Paris, familiar with all the physical aspects of corruption and death, shuddered and then laughed at this new picture gallery. Stopping to look at the face of the Grim Reaper, the student would catch the eye of a passing girl, and death would be forgotten.

Then there were the executions for the students to attend. There were gibbets throughout the town. Not only were there civil hanging posts, but certain abbots, guilds and other associations had their private echelles. It was the custom for the students (during the summer months) to take their girls out

to the Montfaucon gibbet and dance beside the bodies swinging in the breeze.

As for organized amusement there was always the theatre. There were three companies in Paris at the time of the University's power presenting the "mystery" plays. In these programs there often appeared allegorical dramas mixed with satires and farce and horseplay.

But for true comedy the students refused to attend the theatre. On any joyous feast day hundreds of them could be seen swarming the streets disguised as animals, as women, as monks, as devils. These parades ended up with all day battles with the police, and even the churches were invaded by these clerks.

Yet this was the site of the University that could send its graduates to teach all over civilized and Christian Europe. This University could send one of its students forth with a testimonial which read as follows:(94)

"To the venerable father in Christ, by the grace of God Lord Prior to the cathedral of Worcester and the Convent of the same place, the University and the masters and scholars studying at Paris commends itself and its ready goodwill to please.

"That garden of delights, the University of Paris, the ancient mother and nurse of all studies, where the root of wisdom sends out its loftier branches, where the tree of life unceasingly brings forth flowers and fruits of the graces, where also a living fountain issues, watering and fertilizing the whole globe of

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(94) Wilson, J.M.: Translation of the Worcester Liber Albus. London, 1920. pp. 142-143. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

earth, to seek whose waters flock together the thirsty from every part of the world, and where whosoever wills may freely drink and be filled with the water of saving knowledge, has been wont rightly to commend to the various princes of the world and ecclesiastical prelates those accomplished men whom she has nourished and made perfect in divers sciences; and this the more zealously in proportion to the eminence of the degrees and position to which such persons have attained.

"Since, therefore, the reverend Doctor, Master John of St. German, your humble brother, and a venerable member of our body, by formal act a regent in Sacred Scripture; whose praiseworthy life, and nobility of proved virtue, and also the illustrious merits of his learning commend him; who for a long time has shone among us as a brilliant star without a stain; and who, by your favor which has in no small degree adorned our college, is preparing by your orders, as he says, to return to your parts; we with one accord, and with all possible affection commend to your kindness this most loveable and beloved person.

"We beg you, if it please you, in accordance with the merit of his character, and with his position, and in consideration of our requests, so to treat him as to earn our thanks and favour, and so animate us all the more to honor others of your Order in the like circumstances. Be assured that whatever may be done, by you or by others, for this our master and venerated associate, that we shall count as being done for our college."

A Rough Life

Thus it is seen that although the students led a rough life, when the time came for them to go out into the world their alma mater gave them a fine send-off. But before we cast slurs at the gownsmen and their lack of organized amusements we should remember that this deficiency was characteristic of the age. Again we see the influence of the times upon the wearers of the mortar board.

The upper classes of society at the time were essentially a military class, and their amusements-----hunting, hawking, and the like-----were not only too unclerkly but too expensive for the students, and hence were forbidden pleasures. Therefore, gambling, tennis, chess and checkers were all that were left. To be sure, at some of the Universities the playing of chess was frowned upon on feast days. There were rules against playing musical instruments, but that did not affect the number of songs written. The keeping of pets-----"unclean beasts or birds"----was looked upon with horror. (This custom is still frowned upon in many schools).

There was dancing of a general sort. Its express purpose was to introduce the gownsmen to the "Most honorable and elegant daughters of the magnates, senators, and citizens." To be sure, there were denunciations of dancing in any form. The main idea of such rules was to keep women out of the Chaplain's quarters near the Chapel.

If old man Noah drained his casks with an eye to "God's high praise," the students of the German Universities did the

same. It was Tacitus, the historian, who remarked many centuries before that the Germans loved their cups-----"To drink day and night brings disgrace to no one." Those who could drink the most were regarded the most highly by their fellows.

A student from Halle paid a visit to a friend at Jena. The Jena student, to show his friend a good time, called his companions together on the first evening and drank such a welcome to the visitor that they all woke up after noon. When they refreshed themselves they hied forth to another drinking place and drank some more. The revel continued for eight days, and then the visitor returned to Halle. After his return he related strange tales of the University at Jena, and always added, "It is a curious thing about Jena-----there is no forenoon there."

When the entire Chore would go on a beer-party the empty barrels would be piled up in a pyramid to show the world how much had been washed down. The students prided themselves on the height of such a pile, and would always try to beat the height of the previous pile.

The Commers were special feasts of the students at which all members of the Chore gathered, sang and drank beer. Pledges of friendship were made over the flowing bowl and all their anger forgotten. At times two or more Chores would unite at such a party and strife would be laid aside. The presidents of the Chores would take charge and anyone who, in his cups, made himself noticeable was to drink from two to four steins of beer without stopping, as a punishment.

Then there were the half-holidays. To be sure, the authorities thought that mathematics was a light enough subject to be introduced during the holidays, but somehow the students found time to wander about the city when there were no classes. The holiday evenings were spent in reading poetry, writing songs and letters besides running amuck in the taverns.

Practical Jokes

Another favorite pastime of the students was to steal game off of the preserves of the nobles that surrounded Paris. Then there were the practical jokes-----pea-shooting, throwing bags of water on the heads of passers-by, ringing bells at midnight and all the other tricks of students the world over. Beating up the watch was a favorite sport that usually ended in a broken head or two.

The reader should remember that these outbursts are only the University slant on the violence that characterizes medieval life in general. For that matter, it was not so long ago that a member of a Boston institution of learning hurled eggs at the students of another school as they paraded through the streets with a mascot.

Before we cast stones at the amount of bibulosity in the University we must remember that the water was not fit to drink, and coffee and tea were unknown. Wine was provided for visitors to the school-----the examinees provided it for the examiners before and after an examination. Newly elected officers entertained their supporters with wine. The Nations had an annual Feast which began with a High Mass and ended with a banquet. For a long time it was the custom of the Nations

to spend all their excess money in a drinking brawl.

Student Oaths

Another interesting feature of University life was the number of oaths that the students took. This, too, was a product of the time. It was only a few years before that men were swearing their way out of charges of murder, so it was quite natural that the gownsmen should have been great oath takers. The candidate for an examination had to swear that he would not bribe the examiner, while the latter swore that he would not take one. At one time there was an oath that a flunked student would not wreak his vengeance on the examiner by means of a knife or dagger.

Many more oaths were common and had great effect, due to the superstition of the times. But ere long the authorities discovered that the fine of a few crowns had more power to stop wrong doing than any oaths. Money seems to have been as scarce among the students of the Middle Ages as it is now among those of the twentieth century. The students of the University, however, were warned that no fine would get them out of the sin of playing dice on the altars of Notre Dame de Paris, and excommunication would follow such an offense.

Before leaving the University of Paris to make a brief study of the German schools, it will be well to stop and consider why young men entered the portals of the colleges on the hill. At first, as has been stated above, the boy who

thought only of his brains and the prizes of the Church entered the ranks of the gowned. As time went on, however, the University became part of the great machine built up by the power of Rome, and the University became merely a door to clerical preferment. Thus again we see a social product.

We have had pictures of thousands of students following a Master as he went from school to school, but on reading this paper we must remember that the Universities' pleasures drew as many as the lecture halls. It was only natural that this was so, and before we draw a curtain over the past of Paris let us consider the things that brought these changes about.

Founded by the church, pampered by the King, the University grew, taking a share in all quarrels and siding at first with its Church Master. Later came freedom, the breath of outside life, and ere long we find the students taking an active part in the affairs of life instead of merely living in Paris. These were the factors that brought about the change, and out of them came new men created a new France.

In closing, let me once more quote Mr. Lewis:(95) " There is a symphony in Medieval Paris in its rich tumult, its vivid colour, its cruelties and generosities and riotings and obscenities and crimes and dirt and splendour and prevailing

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(95) Wyndham Lewis, D.B.: Ibid. p. 132.

largeness----the Middle Ages were sometimes scandalous, but never vulgar-----in its strange pathos and preoccupation with Death, in all this there is mixed the brawl of the streets and the laughing loud song of the taverns, the screams and giggling of the daughter of joy and the everlasting disputations of the Sorbonnical Doctors, the clink of goblets and the clash of steel, the thud of flying feet and the jangle of chains and the creak of the ropes on Montfaucon gallows; but under all these noises there runs, with a steady beat, permanent, like ground bass, the chant of De Profundis and the Salve Regina."

German Student Life

Let us now cross over to the land of the Rhine, the home of the German students who drank Rhein wine and deep mugs of beer. Here duels were fought, songs were sung and science flourished even in the days of the Churchmen. Here from the twelfth century on poor youths received free lodging, maintenance, and money, and lived under the strict supervision of their teachers.

The right to found the universities of Germany rested entirely with the emperor, and, in the days we are studying, with the Pope. So strong were the German schools that they even had a representative in the Langtag, the second chamber of the state. The organization of the faculty was typically German, and would take too much of our time here.

Here student life was free, the young men quickly rose to a state of independence, and enjoyed their pleasures

and studies in a gay manner. There was less class feeling among the Germans, and a man's social relationships depended more on his ability to use a sabre than to carry a plate to a lady.

To Germany came the self-same nations that went to the University of Paris, but the majority of the students were sons of the land. Rhinelanders, Palatines, Swabians, North-Germans, Hanseats-----all were there. There first were open, the second intelligent, the third honest, the fourth reserved, and the last self-confident. Added to all these was the pithy Hessian, who battled with all the others. To the Universities they brought their native abilities and prides, and out of this grew a social life that did not end in broken heads like that in Paris, but in drinking bouts and sabre cheek cuts.

Social Unions

The necessity for a social union grew out of this motley group, and the Orders came into being. The groups framed their own laws and ministered their own punishments, wore their own colors, had their own beer. In fact, so well did they carry on their self-government that at Heidelburg they were given full sway with only an occasional rule, such as, "But it is expressly forbidden at evening, and after the tolling of the bell which calls the night-watch to their duty, to go about the city with arms."

From the various ~~German~~ nations the Orders or Chores took their names. Disputes between the Chores were common, and they usually ended in dueling or drinking bouts. It was in

these that a student could raise himself in the estimation of his fellows. If he had a good stomach that enabled him to carry plenty of beer, a powerful voice to roar lusty songs, and a quick sword arm he became a power among his fellows.

These groups formed the courts of honor and justice among the students, and all matters of University government were fixed by their decisions. Every burger, tradesman, and shopkeeper or innkeeper had to lay his charges before this court, which was presided over by the heads of the Chores. If judgment was rendered against the student, he might be compelled to duel with one of the court officials, he might have to pay for the beer consumed during the sessions, or he might be thrown out of the University. Similarly, action was taken against the townspeople, and it was not rare to place a merchant under a bann for a year, forbidding all students to trade in his store. Innkeepers who brought charges they could not prove against students found their balls and dances broken up for a definite period of time.

Hazing

The Chores also had charge of "freshmen" and the introduction they gave the youngsters into university life would put the actions of any group of sophomores to shame. The day the "freshmen" arrived, they were met by the upperclassmen, all robed in harlequin and other ludicrous dress. An "examination" was conducted, and those who answered the questions wrongly received strokes with a sand-bag. Then the "freshmen" were made to lie down on the ground, and with knives, files, and saws their nails

were cut off, and their tongues pinched with pliers, and their ears twisted. They were then shaved with a wooden razor, and their hair was sprinkled with shavings.

After this they were conducted by the heads of the Chores to the dean and were presented to him in Latin! The sage listened gravely and then gave the newcomers a bag of salt as a symbol of wisdom, and certificates to show that they had passed the "green tie" stage.

But the "freshmen" still had to do little services for the older men, and their purses were open to their superiors. If they conducted themselves too uppishly, they were "taken down" in the manner still employed by hazing committees.

The Duel

The outstanding characteristic of the German University was the duel. So organized was the use of swords that a busy fencer made it his business to fight every challenger within three days! The weapons used in the duels belonged to the Chore, as did any glory the duelist might earn. The sabers were of the crooked type, without points but with sides capable of cutting through anything they came in contact with, providing the user would wield them.

The length of this paper will not permit a long description of the customs attendant on the duel. Suffice it to say that the seconds, witnesses, umpire, and surgeon all had their duties. Lucky was the innkeeper in whose rear room the duel was fought, for often times the whole University would turn out

to see a match between two famous swordsmen. At that, the fighters were so bound up that deaths were rare. Honor seems to have been satisfied by cuts two inches long and deep enough to draw blood.

Some of the students fought sixty to a hundred duels, and yet came out of them with little more than slight wounds on the face. At times the whole University would be inflamed, and rules would be issued forbidding swordplay, but by one means or another, the regulations were overcome and the swords clanged merrily on in the Chore festivals.

When the students were caught they were placed, not in the city prison, but in the University jail. For the first few days they were not allowed to leave their cells, but later they attended lectures (taking care to avoid the police), ate at the taverns, and returned at night to sleep behind bars. If the student's offense was a bad one he was denied all visitors, books, lectures, furniture, and beer-----durance vile indeed!

Living Conditions

In contrast with the students at Paris, the Germans knew how to live. Their living quarters were rather commodiously fitted up, and on top of their soft beds usually a dog or two slept soundly. Friendships were closer here, gifts passed back and forth, and their rooms might well be compared with those in a fraternity house with the trappings consisting of stolen signs, bric-a-brac, and other decorations.

The Dogs

The dogs of the Universities deserve special mention. They attended classes with their masters, stayed with them in jail,

attended banquets, fought duels with other dogs, and brought drunk masters home. They were admitted to the duels, and the story runs that once when a nose was cut off, a large bull-dog seized it and swallowed it greedily! When a student left, he gave his dog to a fellow of his Chore, and as the years went by the Chore was blessed with countless litters of dogs which the records show were more than an incidental expense.

The German student was apt to walk more then his French cousins, and one of his favorite amusements was to stroll in the country. To be sure, often these walks were not taken alone, and it was the custom to stop at an inn, pick up a girl, and continue the walk through the countryside:

"Frau Wirthin, hath thou beer and wine,
And where is that lovely daughter of thine?"

Hunting appealed to the student, but here as well as in Paris, it was not allowed. Not for the same reason as at the school of Abelard, however, was it forbidden. It was thought that the dogs would soon overrun the preserves, and so the gownsmen were kept from the chase. Many of them found ways to overcome this ruling, and many a Chore dined on rabbit and pheasant.

In the winter time, music and women took up the time of the students. Dancing was more popular here than elsewhere in Europe at the time, and the balls were things of beauty. Strange as it may seem, the students used the winter time for their serenades, and accompanied themselves on rude stringed instruments.

One song was a favorite with the students before leaving the town limits to go on their annual walking tour, which might carry them to the other end of Europe:(96)

"The others go shouting and wave their hats round,
With ribbons and flowers all glowingly crowned;
But the Bursché, he loves not this riot,
In the center goes pale and quiet.

"Loud clash now the tankards, bright sparkles the wine.
'Drink out, and agin drink, dear brother mine!'
'With the farewell wine where out-floweth,
What so deep in my heart now gloweth.'

"The very last house which they go by-----
A maiden looks down from the window so high;
Fain hides she her tearful gushes
With wallflowers rich and sweet rose-bushes.

"The very last house that they go by
The Bursché there lifteth up his eye;
Then sinks it, his pain betraying,------
His hand on his heart now laying.

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(96) Howitt: Student Life in Germany. London; Longman, Brown, Green and Longman.

"'Sir Brother! and hast thou no bouquet?
See, flowers there are nodding and waving so gay!
Hillo! thou loveliest dear one,----
Of thy nosegays now fling us here one!'

"'Ye Brothers! what can that nosegay do?
I have no loving Liebschen, like you.
In the sun it will droop and wither;---
The wind will blow it hither and thither!'

"And farther and farther with clang and song!
And sadly listens that maiden long.
'O, woe! and the youth removeth,
Whom only my heart still loveth.-----

"'Here stand I, ah! in my love profound,
With roses and with wallflowers around-----
And he for whom all I would sever.
He's gone-----and gone forever!'"

Punting

Punting was another favorite sport of the students, and we find them on the surface of all the rivers and lakes. In the winter, the ice-forms drew the students, and whole parties of them and their ladies hiked along the river bank. It was in Germany that the custom of sleigh-riding got its start among

the young people, and even in these early days we hear of masked sledge-parties which were merry revels.

In the evening those students who had the German love for music would gather in an inn and sing. The era was a time of singing-----even the common man sang as he went to work. Singing duels between Chores were common, and roundelays were lustily roared to the top of the blackened beams of the taverns. Many of these songs show a marked similarity to the songs of the Vagi.

Drinking Bouts

Drinking customs of the students show better than anything else how Noah, sick of water, was given by God a grape stock------"to tend, and so he did, and Noah's joy knew no bounds."

Special Commers were held by the Chores just before commencement and after examinations. They were attended in full-dress costume, boots and saber included. An out of town inn was usually the scene of this festival, and was approached by the students in a gay train. No beer was drunk at this special occasion, but wines were, and heads soon became tipsy.

In many respects, this feast was like a fraternity dinner. The head of the Chore would tell what the ideals of the group were, and talk about famous members who had made good in the great outside world.

After the serious speech was over, "the Lord of Fools" ruled with a tun for a throne and a bottle for a sceptre. He led the group in the singing of songs and merry-making. The

gambols lasted all through the night and late into the next day, when one by one they fell off to sleep.

Let us leave them there sleeping, for on the morrow they must attend classes, listen to the dry voices of professors as they preach the dogma of the Church, which some day these Universities will be the first to overthrow.

TRENDS OF GRADUATE ACTIVITY

What did these students do when they received their sheepskins at the hands of some church official? Did they forsake the halls of learning, the bar for which they were trained, or the church which had fostered their education? In this section we shall attempt to look into the worldly life of the university graduates. What we find will be of the utmost importance in answering our question of social product or process, for if the graduates remained static after their matriculation they themselves were social products; if they made for progress they were members of a social process.

We have studied the training offered in the universities and have found that, measured in terms of modern education, that offered was a great step forward. Remembering the requirements for instructors, lack of books, and the actions of the students, the reader sees that the value of the training received increases in value. We may say definitely that these universities gave to Europe, and, for that matter, to the entire world, the promise of an intellectual future for mankind.

One of the most marked trends of the university graduates was that of breaking away from the Church in their method of learning and living. Out of the very medievalism of which they were a part, these student-thinkers began to evolve the modern spirit. Scholasticism had served to defend the church, but many university-ordained priests were starting to question the rights of the powers at Rome.

The rise of this spirit of inquiry was due to the ever increasing power of trade and commerce. The arts and crafts guilds had given rise to a new class-----the burghers,-----and hence, rich men's sons found their way into the ranks of the gowned. Their fathers, in order to pay for this education, erected costly church spires and town halls. Is it any wonder that men, brought up in the marts of trade, would start to question the authority of lecturers and the staid stand-patness of professors?

Nationalism Arrives

Then, too, modern states were coming into being, and with them came languages. Out of language came the national poetry and prose. The vernacular was coming into use, and the use of type was making books known to more and more. Out of this love of literary endeavor was to come a new spirit unchecked by the sombre questions of "how many angels can stand on the head of a pin," and "if an angel wishes to go from one end of a bar to another, does it have to pass through the middle?" In short, national feeling, increased trade and commerce made men become more interested in life on earth than life in heaven.

To be sure, the older schools held fast to their methods of instruction as long as possible, but Italy again was the first to seize upon the new. This is a true social process when one considers that here was the home of the Old Faith. But for some time there had been a pronounced lack of morality on the part of both monks and clergy, which made the students think that something was wrong with the omnipresent Church------a social product.

These students of Italy who dared question did little toward reform. Instead they took up the Greek ideas and lowered the already declining standards. The papacy was very weak at this time, when it should have been strong. Humanism came into being, and instead of following Papal Bulls and Church Council rulings, the questioners turned back to the early church Fathers and the Greek and Hebrew Testament.

The Revolt Grows

The power of the student-questioners grew, and the desire for a breaking away from dogma became insistent. This was a gradual process and not the product of Luther's mind, as many seem to think. Instead, his theses were the result of a long period of thought and efforts at reform on the part of the university students. The freedom of the times had got into the students' blood, and in their songs we find them making fun of the Pope himself. When the Council of Constance tried to heal the papal schism of 1414, public opinion laughed heartily at the aims of the churchmen.

Individualism

By this time the students of the various universities had learned that they were human beings endowed with the ability to think-----and they did-----for themselves. It was the German corps that led the way, and we find many revolts breaking out in the universities of the German states as the princes of the little municipalities dictated to their subjects the religion they must follow.

Such revolts were only natural. The German student, his dog at his feet, had spent long hours thinking and talking about the right of man to choose between an infallible church and an infallible Bible. Then, too, these self-same students, with small funds to waste, were grudging every cent shipped out of the country for the use of the papal state at Rome. Out of this feeling, which was a social product, we get the social process which in a few years was to become religious reform.

One is tempted to mention Luther and his theses here, but let it suffice to say that he was of the university and was the dynamic force behind one of the greatest social processes the world has ever gone through. Whether this process was for better or worse it is not for the writer or reader to say, but Luther made possible the expansion of the individual. Most interesting in this regard to the student of sociology is the fact that he was aided by the greatest of all social forces-----the printing press------and was the first reformer to be helped thus.

Another factor that was bringing increased expression of individualism was the ever growing use of the vernacular. Men no longer need years of study to express themselves graphically. They might now write in a tongue which reached even the lower classes, due to the influence of the chantry and parish schools. As the use of the vernacular grew, nationalism grew with it, and we find the French individualism distinct from that of Germany.

Nothing allows a man to express his or his nation's ego so much as money, and, as has been pointed out, wealth was rolling into the coffers of the nations as trade increased and money passed throughout Europe. With a chest full of gold behind him, any man was a good as his fellows-----and perhaps we may trace the rise of the "boot-blacking earls" and "brewery barons" to this development of individualism.

Then, too, education itself was causing an increase in individualism. The old lines of the Faculties were fast disappearing, and the Church's control over the Universities stopped. Paris no longer sided with either the king or the Pope, but told them both it was interested in the education of the young and not in the settling of economic, political, and religious disputes. This ever growing laxity had the effect of turning back on the universities themselves a free and easy attitude on the part of the students so far as taking interest in affairs of religion and of state were concerned.

Men were growing more interested in the task of living for pleasure and with joy than living for God and with the idea

of heaven ever foremost. This was an age of expression in letters, arts, religion, and trade-----group consciousness of one type vanished only to reappear as nationalism, as individualism caught hold.

As the question of Church and Bible interested more and more students, the revolt against authority spread. Oxford and Cambridge took sides over the question of Henry the Eighth's divorces, but in reality they were taking a definite stand on a religious question. Priests in England now swore allegiance to the King instead of to the Pope-----social process or product, depending wholly upon one's point of view.

Huss and Swingli helped the revolt to grow, but a student of the times will find that these two followers after Luther merely crystallized the trend of thought uppermost in the minds of university students. Out of their wish to substitute the old theory of collective responsibility for that of personal responsibility came reforms that even reformed those who would do the reforming.

Above, the influence of the printing press has been mentioned, but it will do no harm to say here that the revolt would never have reached such proportions if the press had not become a formidable rival of the pulpit. This made educational progress much more rapid, and enabled men's thoughts to travel wider and faster.

This is the period when the reaction against the medieval dogmas of the Church and the demand by the humanists of the North for a simple became more insistent. The reaction soon became an open revolt.

The outbreak due to Luther has been mentioned, but the reader must not think that this one man moulded public opinion to suit his ends in a few years. For more than two centuries unrest was felt by those who were in contact with the public pulse. Other nations took up the cry for freedom. Denmark, where the German grievances against Italy were familiar,in 1537 severed all connection with Rome and made Lutheranism the religion of the land by an edict of the Danish Diet.

Norway, as part of Denmark, went over to Lutheranism also. Sweden took over the property of the Church and stripped it of its powers, some time later adopting Lutheranism. This included Finland, then a part of Sweden. German Switzerland followed the lead of the Fatherland, due to Huldreich Zwingli. England's move toward revolt was twofold: Henry's divorces and the growing ideal among English statesmen for a National Church.

Thus, in a brief five-paragraph survey, the writer has traced the beginnings of a movement that was to reach to America and cause the present feeling between sects and sections. Here is social process and social product, so mixed up that the result is social retardation and stagnation.

The Law

Let us now turn our attention to an activity in which the graduates of the universities engaged-----the Law.

The various Church Councils and the Papal Bulls still remained the basic principles on which the Mother Church ran her

business. The Council of Trent purified matters to some extent, but on the whole those who held degrees enabling them to practice canon law remained static in their duties. To be sure, a time was coming when priests as well as laymen would be tried in the civil courts and the study of canon law would be confined to a few churchmen. It was, however, during the period we are studying, for the most part far from a social process, but rather a fixed social product.

Civil law, however, was different. Increased trade meant increased relationships with other countries, and this meant law-suits over contracts, bills of sale (which had come in), and other business matters. Toll fixing, shipmasters' reports, merchants' agreements, and government oppression all meant increased work for the lawyer. Germanic law, which had stressed the rights of the people, started to come in, rather than the old Roman law, which had made the state supreme. The guild law was codified into trade regulations and commercial rulings. In short, the times had increased their tempo, and the thinking students who had studied the old masters turned to the new and helped build up our common law and our recognized unwritten statutes. This was social process of the highest type.

Medicine Moves Forward

With the decline of Papal authority and the increased communication with the East, medicine rose to new heights. The students, unhampered by restrictions, dissected bodies, investigated diseases, and tried experiments. In fact, they did openly

for the first time that which they had been doing behind covered windows and barred doors for two centuries. The revolt against religion had caused an opening of the doors of medical science, and thus we must say that while the increase in study was a social process, it came about through a social product.

No remarkable discoveries were made during this period, as hardly anything was known of germs, contagion, and infection. Foundations were laid, however, in clear thinking and rational investigation without blind devotion to the Almighty God, which was to pave the way for the great men of three centuries later.

Literature

It was in the field of literature that the graduates of the Universities made their greatest contribution to social advancement. Heretofore their writings had been confined to the holy books and their simple texts. The removal of the Church restraint caused the flower of literature to bud, blossom, and perfume the air until this day.

We have no time to tell of the hundreds of writers who did their share toward making for social process. Head and shoulders above the crowd stands Dante who, by the use of his native tongue, not only gave the vernacular a place, but also gave the world an interest in poetry. There was Petrarch, "the morning star of the Renaissance," who threw off the idea of the other world in his writings, and wrote about the heroes of the past. Another titan was Boccaccio, whose works have made him at once the father of Italian prose and of one of the first banned books!

Before leaving the trends of graduate activity in the field of literature, let us glance at the following quotation from Cubberley:(97)

"The literature of the Middle Ages was dying out with the Middle Ages themselves; in letters as in life their thirst for knowledge had spent itself in the barren mazes of the scholastic philosophy, their ideal of warlike nobleness faded away before the gaudy travestie of a spurious chivalry, and the mystic enthusiasm of their devotion shrank at the touch of persecution into a narrow orthodoxy and a flat morality. The clergy, who had concentrated in themselves the intellectual effort of the older time, were ceasing to be an intellectual class at all. The monasteries were no longer seats of learning. 'I found in them,' said Poggio, an Italian traveller twenty years after Chaucer's death, "men given up to sensuality in abundance, but very few lovers of learning, and those of a barbarous sort, skilled more in quibbles and sophisms than in literature.' The erection of colleges, which was beginning, failed to arrest the quick decline of the universities both in the numbers and learning of their students. Those at Oxford amounted to only a fifth of the scholars who had attended its lectures a century before, and 'Oxford Latin' became proverbial for

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(97) Green, J.R.: Short History of the English People, pp. 303-305. As quoted by Cubberley, Ibid. pp. 199-200.

a jargon in which the very tradition of grammar had been lost. All literary production was nearly at an end. Historical composition lingered on indeed in compilations of extracts from past writers, such as make up the so-called works of Walsingham, in jejune monastic annals, or worthless popular compendiums. But the only trace of mental activity is to be found in the numerous treatises on alchemy and magic, on the elixir of life or the philosopher's stone, a fungus growth which most unequivocally witnesses to the progress of intellectual decay. On the other hand, while the older literary class was dying out, a glance beneath the surface shows us the stir in a new interest in knowledge among the masses of the people itself. The correspondence of the Paston family, which has been happily preserved, not only displays a fluency and vivacity as well as a grammatical correctness which would have been impossible in familiar letters a few years before, but shews country squires discussing about books and gathering libraries. The very character of the authorship of the time, its love of compendiums and abridgements of the scientific and historical knowledge of its day, its dramatic performances or mysteries, the commonplace morality of its poets, the popularity of its rimed chronicles, are additional proofs that literature was ceasing to be the possession of a purely intellectual class and was beginning to appeal to the people at large. The

increased use of linen paper in place of the costlier parchment helped in the popularization of letters. In no former age had finer copies of books been produced; in none had so many been transcribed. This increased demand for their production caused the processes of copying and illuminating manuscripts to be transferred from the scriptoria of the religious houses into the hands of trade-guilds, like the Guild of St. John at Bruges, or the Brothers of the Pen at Brussels. It was, in fact, this increase of demand for books, pamphlets, or fly-sheets, especially of a grammatical or religious character, in the middle of the fifteenth century that brought about the introduction of printing. We meet with it first in rude sheets simply struck off from wooden blocks, 'block-books' as they are now called, and later on in works printed from separate and movable types. Originating at Maintz with the three famous printers, Gutenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer, the new process travelled southward to Strassburg, crossed the Alps to Venice, where it lent itself through the Aldi to the spread of Greek literature in Europe, and then floated down the Rhine to the towns of Flanders. It was probably at the press of Colard Mansion, in a little room over the porch of Saint Donat's at Bruges, that Caxton learnt the art which he was the first to introduce into England."

From these university graduates came the Renaissance, which is beyond our period, but which is a social process

brought about by the universities of the time. It is well to remember that all this reform in law, medicine, and literature came about as social products arising out of the throwing over of the old theology by students in other fields.

EVALUATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES' PLACE IN THEIR PERIOD

We have discussed the courses, lecturers, and students of the medieval university and have found much fault with all three. In summarizing, it is safe to say that the following were the outstanding faults with the universities of the Middle Ages: poor selection of teachers, youthfulness of the students, half-hearted teaching by the trained Doctors, and whole-hearted lecturing by the ill-trained Bachelors.

With this background of faults, can we look upon the universities as having any value during the era under discussion in this paper?

It is the author's contention that the students of the medieval university were more anxious to learn than the disputing professors were to teach. Hence, as an educational force the value of the universities was impaired. Yet the lamp of education was kept glowing throughout this period by these poorly equipped educators who lectured to men who acted, and should have been treated, as erring schoolboys.

One cannot evaluate the place of the universities without considering the strangle-hold the Church and Aristotle had upon them during the early days. For this reason any education offered was apt to be far too dogmatic and too

disputatious. In fact, if there is an outstanding educational vice during this period it is the vice of superstitious adherence to the teachings of the past with no relation to "life situations" and "case problems." Thus, in summing up the value of the universities as an educational force we may say that they served well their time, giving the Mother Church the disciples she needed, a typical social product. Later, when these self-same universities became hotbeds of religious sedition, this same education was turned upon the Church, and a social process resulted.

Yet one thing the universities gave to the students of the Middle Ages, was the ability to stand on their feet and argue. When religious reform was under way the students would swear with one breath never to question the authority of the church fathers, and in the next, turn around and dispute any thesis that was presented. This was at once a social product and social process. Remembering that the age was one of careful investigation into the whys and wherefores of life as expressed by authorities, it is remarkable that the majority of students were indifferent to the facts of nature, the facts of history, and the facts of real life. Professor Roberts, in his course in the History of Education, has summed up the educational value of the medieval university when he says, "Books were put in place of things."

Yet we must not get the idea that the education offered by the universities was not of value to its period. It was. Let us now look at the practical value of the educational program offered. The royal houses of Europe, kings and princes alike, found their advisers in the ranks of the students. These men had been trained in canon law, so could keep their patrons out of difficulties with the many Papal bits of legislation. Their knowledge of civil law made drafting state papers a simple task in an age when such documents were apt to be most complex. Thus we may call the study of law at this time a most practical activity. This is a social product. We have seen that the increased interest in this subject grew out of the demand for more lawyers, due to the rise of commerce and trade----again social process.

What of the cultural value of the universities? They trained intellect-----pure and unvarnished-----while no habits of scientific thought were encouraged. Still, great steps were taken to give the student the ability to be subtle in his arguments (would that the university of today would do this!), industry was encouraged, while intense application was necessary to pass courses. Men were taught to think-----but not to enjoy. In fact, the outstanding fault with the cultural offerings of the medieval university lies in the fact that the imagination was left uncultivated-----again a social product. Out of this grew a lack of taste and no sense of beauty-----evils which were soon to be corrected by the Renaissance.

But they made a great contribution to the Great Society of the world outside of this ability to think. The universities were the "school of the modern spirit; they taught men to reason and to speculate, to doubt and inquire, to find a pleasure in the things of the intellect both for their own sake and for the sake of their application to life. They dispelled forever the obscurantism of the Dark Ages. From a more practical point of view their greatest service to mankind was this, that they placed the administration of human affairs----in short the government of the world----- in the hands of educated men. The actual rulers-----the Kings or the aristocrats----might often be as uneducated or more uneducated than modern democracies, but they had to rule through the instrumentality of a highly educated class."(98)

Of course the value of the universities to the fields of Philosophy and Theology-----both subjects of the utmost interest in the Middle Ages------was great. Here, in these studies we find the highest intellectual development of the era. Out of the disputations of the medieval doctors came the codification of both Catholic and Protestant faiths. Realists and Nominalists paved the way, through their Scholastic Philosophy, for that rich background of thought that is religion today.

(98) Rashdall, H.: Ibid. vol. II, part II. pp. 703.

Then there was the leveling influence of the universities. As the burgher class rose and their sons entered the universities, rank and station gave way before an aristocracy of brains. This entrance into the ranks of students of the so-called "middle class" not only was a social process, but it also gave rise to a conception of government that lasted almost to the present day-----that the university alone should rule. The freedom of the gown gave all surcease and a chance to rise. In evaluating the position of the university during the Middle Ages, one must consider this great leveling influence.

In every age there are minds that are not content to stand pat and accept the dictates of the past. For these the medieval schools proved an outlet of activity. Here the germs of scientific reasoning were hatched-----behind barred windows and locked doors, it is true, but in this matter of evaluation, this cannot be forgotten.

In fact, for all those who sought relief from things as they were, for those who wished to think, for those who doubted, for those with the wanderlust, and for many others, the medieval university offered a place of refuge, and this was its greatest value. Yet we cannot evaluate the medieval university in terms of its time alone. We must consider how this great institution has handed its torch to the schools of higher learning today. This shows the greatest of all social processes.

Evaluation is at best a risky task. Standing in the third decade of the twentieth century, it is hard to look back at a colorful period and say this was, and this was not, important, from the standpoint of process. We can, however, say that here is an imperishable institution handed on to us by the past to improve and carry on. Therefore, we can reach no definite conclusion on the matter of social product or social process, but must content ourselves with saying that it is both at once.

Weak though this conclusion is, we must be satisfied with it, for it is nigh impossible for anyone to scan the centuries and be definite as to the effects of movements on posterity. The best one can do in this case is to point out wherein the medieval university was a social process and wherein it was a social product, as no real fusion of the two is possible in a thesis limited as this must needs be.

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